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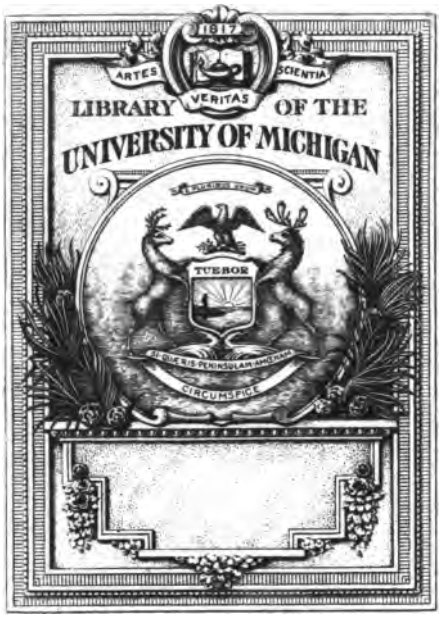

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OF THE

CUMBERLAND & WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED 1866.)

VOLUME V.—NEW SERIES.

EDITOR

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.,

Local Secretary for Cumberland to the Society of Antiquaries of London.

KENDAL:
PRINTED BY TITUS WILSON, HIGHGATE.
1905.

The Council of the CUMBERLAND & WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, and the Editor of their *Transactions*, desire that it should be understood that they are not responsible for any statements or opinions expressed in their *Transactions*; the Authors of the several papers being alone responsible for the same.

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As revised at the Annual Meeting, June 20th, 1901.

I.—The Society shall be called the "Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society."

II.—The Society is formed for the purpose of investigating, describing, and preserving the antiquities of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North of the Sands.

III.—The Society consists of the original members, and all those who may have been or shall be elected either at a General or Council Meeting upon the nomination of two members.

IV.—The Annual Subscription is 10/6, due and payable on the 1st of July, in each year; and no member shall be entitled to the privileges of the Society whilst his or her Subscription is in arrear. A composition of Ten Guineas constitutes Life Membership. *N.B.*—Ladies elected prior to August 30th, 1881, pay only 5/- per annum.

V.—The Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Cumberland, and the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Westmorland, if members of the Society, shall be Patrons thereof.

VI.—The other officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, an Editor, two Auditors, a Secretary or Secretaries and Treasurer, all being honorary officers, who shall all be elected at a General Meeting of the members of the Society to be held each year.

VII.—The management of the Society shall be in a Council consisting of the officers above named, excepting the Auditors, and twelve other members, who shall be annually elected at the same time as the other officers. The Council may, if it think fit, elect one of its members as "Chairman of the Council."

VIII.—On the recommendation of the Council, the Annual Meeting may elect as honorary members, gentlemen non-resident eminent for antiquarian knowledge, or gentlemen resident who shall have rendered valuable services to the Society, such gentlemen to have all the privileges of membership without the payment of Subscriptions.

IX.—The Society shall hold two or more Meetings in each year at some place of interest, at which papers shall be read, to be printed, if approved by the Editor and Publication Committee, in the Society's *Transactions*.

X.—The Council have power to appoint local secretaries, and to authorise the formation of Committees for local purposes in connection with the central body.

XI.—The Council shall meet about the month of April to settle the place or places at which the General and other Meetings shall be held in the season next ensuing.

XII.—The Council may appoint two members of their body, who shall, with the Editor, form the Publication Committee.

XIII.—Members may introduce a friend to the ordinary meetings of the Society.

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MEETINGS HELD BY THE SOCIETY,

1904,

FOR READING PAPERS AND MAKING EXCURSIONS.

1.—Carlisle ... ... April 19.

2.—Tour to the Hebrides ... ... May 18-26.

3.—Carnforth, Borwick Hall, Burton, Sealford, Kirkby Lonsdale ... ... June 30.

Tunstall, Thurland, Burton-in-Lonsdale, Hornby, Melling ... ... July 1.

4.—Carlisle, Brampton, Irthington, Castle Carrock, Gelt Hall ... ... Sept. 8.

Askerton, Bewcastle, Lanercost, Naworth ... Sept. 9.

ART I.—*Bishop Nicolson's Diaries*: PART V. By the BISHOP OF BARROW-IN-FURNESS, President.

IT may be remembered that on March 2nd, 171$\frac{3}{4}$, the day before he began his journey to Parliament, the Bishop recorded his intention to keep no journal thenceforward, save in his almanack. From that date his daily notes are much more brief: they usually consist only of the names of persons who called upon him or dined with him, and the like, with occasional notes about his health, for he suffered greatly from gravel. Consequently the diaries become of less interest, and fewer extracts are here given. There are also some accounts, lists of letters written, and a few memoranda. Thus he notes in the volume which begins March 25th, 1714, that his son Joseph cost him at Oxford, from his admission in Feb. 170$\frac{8}{7}$ to his leaving in August 1712, £446 2s. 0d.

1714.

May 24. To B. of Lincoln's Institution &c. of my son.* I waited on Mr Pelham who promis'd G. Spooner E. Lamplugh's place.

On June 14th the Bishop left London in the Lincoln coach, and arrived at Rose Castle on June 23rd.

July 14. m. I went to ye Sessions at Carlile; and gave y^{e} Charge (ag^{t} y^{e} pr——r) to y^{e} G. Jury. d. with y^{e} Sheriff, at the Bush. Even'. Home again.

Aug. 2. d. B^{r} Carlile, shaveing my head.

„ 4. p.m. Mr Sheriff Pattenson &c. with the Proclamation for King George. Servet Deus!

Sep. 12. Mr B. preach'd on Heb. 10. 25. None of my B$^{r's}$ family; my sister's Arm being broken in y^{e} way. God restore her health!

* In 1714 Joseph Nicolson was preferred to the living of Mareham, near Horncastle, then in the gift of the Bishops of Carlisle. He was inducted Chancellor of Lincoln Feb. 11th, 172$\frac{4}{5}$, and died Sept. 9th, 1728, leaving two daughters.

Sep. 21. Even'. Jos. Rothery, in 5 dayes frō York.*
„ 30. Feth. Nicolson, Fishing. No more Tables.
Oct. 20. p.m. My Br, Daughters &c. wth me to attend ye Bonfires on ye Coronation, Fireworks &c.
„ 22. d. Feth. Nicolson, returning to Wales. p.m. Mr Benson collated to ye V. of Dalston.
Nov. 9. Fruitless wander wth Greyhounds.
„ 17. d. Cous. Goldsmith, for ye Excise.†
„ 18. Even'. Dr Todd, smooth & Frank.
„ 23. m. C. Lease to dau. Catharine.‡ Wood-cocking wth W Tate, R. Eglesfield, W. Crosby, &c.
„ 24. Dineing at Carlisle, wth the Dean & Ch. where all ye Clergy except poor Whittingdale.
„ 30. Mr B. at Highhead, Mr Walker read ye first Service; and I ye Second, & confirm'd dau. Eliz.
Dec. 6. N.B. The Pr's Declaration frō an unknown hand. Even'. W. Tate, R. Eglesfield & Br Carlile.
„ 7. With ye sd Gunners, Killing 12 Woodcocks, a Hare and a partridge.
„ 10. Mr B. & Cous. Rothery § to Lowther; whence (even') they brought back little G. Benson.
„ 18. York-friends wth J. Rothery, to Carlile; whence, in ye Evening, Mr Dean wth his wife &c.
„ 21. The Tents of Cardew-Leas brought me their Grant of their Stint fro. Sr Ja. Lowther (first Ld L.) in 1690 as part of his Mannour of Parton. d. Mr Walton; who wants 35lb of his city salary.||
„ 24. Mr Lawson's servt with a fine old Chalice ¶; to be given to any Church (whereof I am patron) not in this County.

---

* For Joseph Rothery, see note on April 5, 1705. At his matriculation at Oxford, he was called "son of Edward Rothery, of Bank End, Cumberland." Bishop Nicolson's List of Incumbents contains the following: "Bromfield, 1714-15, Mar. 14. Jos. Rothery M.A. collated by me (at Kendale, on my way to the Parlt) being ordain'd priest ye day before." He seems to have acted at this time as the Bishop's domestic chaplain, remaining with him all the winter and the following autumn, and was with him in London during June and July, 1717. He resigned Bromfield March 22nd, 171⅞, and his successor Jeremy Nicolson was appointed the same day, "after I was named (on ye 17th) to Derry." We shall hear of him again in Ireland; see May 4th, 1721.

† See Sep. 27th, 1705, and July 7th, 1713.

‡ Catharine Nicolson was lessee of the tithes of Linstock; see Bishop Nicolson's will in C. & W. *Transactions*, vol. iv., p. 10.

§ The Bishop sometimes uses "cousin" of nephews and nieces. Lady Lonsdale was a Thynne, aunt of the children of whom "Sister Rothery" had charge. Hence probably the frequent visits of the Rothery family to Lowther.

|| He had succeeded Stephenson as Master of the Grammar School.

¶ This chalice was given by the Bishop to S. Michael's, Bongate, Appleby: it is described and engraved in "Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle," p. 176. In 1903, an application was made for a faculty to sell it, which was (happily from an antiquarian point of view) refused.

The next volume begins with Jan. 1st, 1715, * *i.e.* 171$\frac{4}{5}$.

Jan. 15. G. Benson sent back to y^e^ School at Lowther.
„ 29. Mr B. & Cous. Rothery to y^e^ Election of o^r^ Citizens.†
Feb. 8. B^r^ & J. Rothery to y^e^ Election of our K^ts^.
Mar. 1. Synod at Carlile. Ch^r^. Tullie preach'd on Mar. 1. 15.—Believe y^e^ Gospel. He & Mr Benson elected proctors.

On March 11th he began his journey southwards, and reached London on the 25th.

Mar. 13. I preach'd at Kendale, and ordain'd ‡ 10 Deacons & 7 priests.
„ 24. On post Horses, by Royston (NB. The Club-Room & Monteth) and Ware to Enfield-wash.
„ 25. Ten miles (post) to London; d. wth my sister; Her Birth Day.

At some time in the course of 1715 Bishop Nicolson was appointed by George I. High Almoner. There is no mention of this appointment in the diary at the time: but there are several allusions to the fact of his holding the office.

Mar. 29. I had ye Hon^r^ to Kiss ye King's hand, introduced by Ld Hall^x^ who kindly reminded His Ma^ty^ of our Oxford Acquaintance 34 years agoe. Lords, of both Nations, very obligeing.
Apr. 2. m. To L^ds^ Lonsdale, Portland &c. p.m. A.B. of C. cheerful. I stand fair.
„ 9. Carry'd by B. of B.§ to ye Prince and princess. d. With ye Chaplains.

---

* It may be noticed that the Bishop gradually drops the custom of beginning the year on March 25th.

† Sir James Montague having been made on Nov. 22nd, 1714, Baron of the Exchequer, Thomas Stanwix and Sir William Strickland were elected without a contest. "Our citizens" means "members for the city," just as "our knights" on Feb. 8th means "members for the county." So the documents quoted in Ferguson's *M.P.'s for Cumberland and Westmorland*, pp. 93 and 94, speak of Sir James Montague as "elected a Citizen for the City of Carlisle."

‡ Acting for the Bishop of Chester. Among the Deacons ordained was Bellingham Mauleverer, who became the Bishop's Chaplain, and ultimately his son-in-law.

§ John Evans, consecrated Bishop of Bangor 1702, and translated to Meath 1715, died 1724.

Apr. 11. To Bar. Mountague, Ld L. Sis. R.
„ 13. Dr Brydges pr^{d} at St James's; where ye young princesses not waited on, by ye B^{p} of N's withdrawing.
„ 16. m. At L^{d} O's Library. d. wth me Mr Greensh^{ds} wth W^{m}. p.m. at ye Glassworks &c. at Fox-hall.
„ 17. Easter-day. I pr^{d} at Lambeth. p.m. wth ye AB. of C's Becofigo's.*
May 13. p.m. At Cupid's Garden. Ev. B^{rs}.
Aug. 1. King's Accession. Church & Court.
Sep. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. In ye stage-Coach (wth B^{r} Benson † Cap^{ts} Du-Mar and Talbot) to York.
„ 18. I preach'd in ye morning & Mr Benson in ye Afternoon. d. B^{r} B's.
Oct. 1. By Ribton to Whitehaven, in great crowds.
„ 2. Consecration of ye new Church. Mr B. preach'd in ye Forenoon, & I in ye Afternoon.
„ 4. To meet Ld Lonsdale (& Dep^{ty} Lieu^{ts}) at Penrith.

There is not much about the 1715 Rebellion; but it is curious to observe how quietly the ordinary life was going on so few miles away from the march of the rebel forces.

Oct. 5. Genl Quarter-Sessions began and ended. I took ye Test Oaths.
„ 6. After dinner, wth ye Justices, at Mr H. Simpson's, home.
„ 8. m. Ch. Tullie (in 's way to Crosthw^{t}) wth news frō Northumb.
„ 10. To Carlile d. wth Brig^{r} Stanwix. Even'. Deanry. B^{r} Carlile's Alarm.
„ 11. Court at Walby. Home p.m.
„ 12. m. Mr Xtian, & my B^{r} to ye Court at Dalston. G. Lowther.
„ 13. m. Dau. Betty, to York. d. No Company. Even'. B. returned.
„ 14. m. wth S^{r} Ch. Dalston &c. to Penrith. d. wth Ld Lonsdale &c.
„ 15. After Breakfast wth Mr H. Simpson by Hutton, home.

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* Beccafico, figpecker, is a name given in Italy to a small bird much esteemed for eating, identified with the English Blackcap. Possibly the word is employed here to designate "dependents," but I can find no authority for such an use of it. Can the Bishop have connected the word with "sycophant"?

† Whom does the Bishop mean by "Brother Benson"? Is it his son-in-law, regarded from the point of view of his children, and as he speaks of "Cousin Rothery"? Or is it the Mr. Benson of Kendal, father of his son-in-law? I incline to think that he means the father: he more often calls his son-in-law "Mr. Benson," as on Sept. 18th.

Oct. 16. I preach'd & administer'd ye Sacram^t at Dalston. Sr C.D.
„ 17. d. Ld Lonsdale, in his way (wth ye Chanc^r) to Carlile.
„ 18. I read ye 2^d Service in the Cathedral; and din'd (wth Ld L. & ye popish prisoners) at the Governour's.* Betty to York.
„ 21. Horse muster'd at Dalston. d. No Company.
„ 22. No Company. Rainy day.
„ 24. Carlile, at ye Brig^r's Court-Leet. Even'. Dalston-Hall.
„ 27. Even'. Mr Brisco and 's Lady, frō High-head. Rebels joyn'd.†
„ 28. With Mr R. Thomlinson jun^r &c. Killing a brace of Hares.
„ 29. m. Mr T. Crosby. p.m. Good News. ‡
Nov. 1. m. B^r Nev'. & Mr Benson to Carlile. d. Mr Sumpton. The Rebels march'd from Lang-Town to Brampton.
„ 2. I was eye-witness of our Posse's Flight, and ye Rebels marching into Penrith. §
„ 3. d. Mr R. Thomlinson. p.m. Mr Brisco, safely escap'd.
„ 4. d. Mr Fletcher, frō Ld Lons^d. Gen. Carpenter's Letter &c.
„ 6. Mr B. preach'd on Luc. 9. 5, 6. ag^t ye Spirit of Rebellion.
„ 7. d. Mr Bolton. Even'. Sr Cha. Dalston, Capt Phillips &c.
„ 8. Daughters at Dalston-Hall. p.m. Express frō Ld Burlington.

---

* In the Bishop's mind and language "Popish" was practically equivalent to "Jacobite," a word which he does not often use. "In 1715, the Jacobite rising found no supporters in Cumberland. The Government, at an early stage, took the precaution of locking up in Carlisle Castle all the likely Jacobite leaders, such as Howard of Corby, Warwick of Warwick Hall, and Curwen of Workington." "At that time the offices at Carlisle of Mayor and Governor were held by one and the same person, the representative of an old local family, and one of the great Marlborough's most trusted subordinates, Brigadier Thomas Stanwix."—Ferguson's *History of Cumberland.*

† In the British Museum there is a collection of letters (Add. MSS. 6116) from Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake. Twenty-one of these, chiefly on the rebellion of 1715, are printed in Sir Henry Ellis' collection of original letters, 1st series iii, 157-396; most of these however were written in the year 1716, and are concerned with the subsequent treatment of the rebel prisoners at Carlisle.

‡ "The rebels had fully purposed (as they acknowledged at Penrith) to have given me a visit, and to that end hovered a whole day on the banks of the Eden, five miles below Carlisle. But as providence ordered the matter, the rains had so swelled the waters there, that they were not fordable. This preserved my beef and mutton for the present. They sent me word that these provisions were only kept in store for the Earl of Mar: who they said would assuredly be with me in ten days time."—*Letter to Archbishop Wake, dated Nov. 14, 1715.* (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6116).

§ "From Brampton the Jacobites marched to Penrith Fell, where the *posse comitatus* to the number of 4,000 men, or some say 10,000, or even 14,000, armed with guns, scythes and pitchforks, awaited them under Viscount Lonsdale and Bishop Nicolson, who was on the field in his coach and six. So soon as the Highlanders appeared, the *posse comitatus* went away; in plain words, they skedaddled, leaving the two commanders and a few of their servants. Lord Lonsdale presently galloped off to Appleby, and the Bishop's coachman, whipping up his horses, carried off his master, *willy nilly*, to Rose Castle. It is said the prelate lost his wig, while shouting from the carriage window to his coachman to stop."—Ferguson's *History of Cumberland.*

Nov. 9. At Carlile wth ye Brig^{r} & Mr Brougham, continueing ye Horse.
„ 10. d. Lady Dalston & Mrs Mary Philips, ye AD. & Mr Xrson.
„ 11. p.m. Mr Rumney, wth notice of the Scots deserting.
„ 12. Mr B. & dau. at Carlisle. No Company.
„ 13. Mr B. preach'd on Luc. 16, 31. Moses & ye prophets.
„ 14. No Company. p.m. Good News from Preston.
„ 15. d. Mr Ch^{r} Tullie. Second Express, on ye Defeat of ye Rebels.
„ 16. No Company. Three years since ye death of my dear Wife.
„ 17. m. Mr Rook, wth Scotch News. Afternoon, Two Expresses.
„ 18. No Company. Even'. Richd Fisher, paying for his Hides.
„ 19. At Carlile, makeing Return to ye Letter from ye Council; but (chiefly) disbanding our Militia, and Rejoyceing, on the good news frō Stirling.
„ 20. Mr B. preach'd ye 2^{d} part of his last Sunday's &c.
„ 23. d. Onely Mr Fryer, painter: Mr B. with the D. & Chapter.
„ 24. No Company. My B^{r} and Cous. Rothery wth ye Chapter.
„ 27. I preach'd my Turn (1. S. in Advent) at Carlile; and treated ye D. and Ch. at dinner.
„ 28. The Justices of peace met in ye Moot-Hall, tendering ye Oaths to Papists &c.
„ 29. I din'd wth ye D. & Chapter & return'd to Rose in ye Even'.
Dec. 3. d. Mr St Green. p.m. Cous. Rothery went to Bromfield.
„ 6. d. No Company. Even'. Sis^{r} Carlile, wthout her Spouse he attending the Dragoons.
„ 7. d. Mr Cock and Mr Walker. Picture finish'd by Mr Fryer.
„ 12. p.m. Mr Hanson, admonish'd to reside (and teach School) at Soulby.
„ 17. m. Dr T. to Penrith. The AD. and I to Carlile, to sign the Return of our Non-Jurors.

For the year 1716 no diary is preserved. To this year belong several interesting letters to Archbishop Wake (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6116). Thus on Sep. 13th, 1716, Bishop Nicolson wrote concerning the prisoners from the 1715 rebellion :—

I heartily wish that we may have a Gaol-Delivery here as soon as possible. Not that I have any jealousy that the Prisoners are like to make their escape, but because I apprehend that (if Justice be not executed speedily) many of them will leave the world in a less exemplary way than they ought to do. The Castle (where they are lodg'd) is a moist & unwholesome Place); and our Garrison is so

thin, that the Commandant is forc'd, for security, to crowd them all into three Rooms. There the greatest part of them sleep upon bare Straw. For tho' they are generally desirous and sufficiently able to hire Beds, the Townsmen are loath to let their Goods be carried into a place where they are sure to Rot. In this miserable State have most of these mad Creatures been for four or five days past.

The Bishop seems to have been kind to them, obtaining for them permission to walk on the ramparts, &c.

On Oct. 22nd he wrote that the Dean was not likely to live above two or three days, and urged the appointment of Chancellor Tullie, a steady adherent of the House of Hanover. Dean Gibbon was buried on Oct. 24th, and when Tullie succeeded to the Deanery, Thomas Benson, the Bishop's son-in-law, became prebendary in his place.

For 171$\frac{6}{7}$ and 1717, there are two separate books, which for convenience I will call (A) and (B). (A) is short and condensed; it begins at Rose Castle, Jan. 1st, 171$\frac{6}{7}$, omits the journey to London (Feb. 7-19), and ends Dec. 31st, 1717.

(B) contains the journal on the road, Feb. 7th to 19th, in which there is nothing of special interest: this is followed by some fuller notes or memoranda concerning the same period which is covered by (A), but there is nothing about the later months of the year. The extracts are here arranged in chronological order; and the letters (A) and (B) indicate from which book they are taken.

171$\frac{6}{7}$.

(A) Jan. 11. d. Mr Bolton. p.m. Complim^{t} from Prisoners, on my Indisp'.

Feb. 7. My Journey begun and continu'd (as in another Journal) to y^{e} 19. inclusive.

„ 20. King's Speech. Even' at Cous. R. N's.

„ 21. King, prince & princess, attended.*

* For the better understanding of some passages which follow, it should be noted that King George I. had been in Hanover for the summer and autumn of 1716, leaving the Prince of Wales "Guardian of the Realm" in his absence. During it, the Prince and Princess of Wales had kept great State, and the King, who had returned in November, was extremely jealous of their popularity, and n bad terms with them. The young Princesses Anne (born 1709), Amelia (born 710), and Caroline (born 1715), were taken by the King from their parents, and kept at St. James's Palace.

Feb. 22. On ye D. of B. &c. and ye princess. Address. d. wth ye B. of L. at ye B. of N's.

Mar. 1. Princess's Birth Day. d. at St James's. Even'. Br's.

(B) „ 4. Mr Stephenson * wth his order of Ch. Aug. 17. 1710 for 10lb yearly, till (by Judgmt & Approbation of ye Bp and Dean) he be well and sufficiently provided for.

(A) „ 9. m. To D. of Argyle. d. wth me Mr Harris. Even'. Letters many.

„ 16. m. Bp of Linc. A.B. of D. Sr R.S. &c. &c. Even'. Dr Cannon † wth kind message frō Ld T.

(B) „ 18. I waited (with Mr Sec. Methwin) on ye King; and acquainted His Maty that 18 or 19 of ye Bishops (in 25. ye B. of Worcr absent, wthout Proxy) would be agt Repealing ye Act agt Occ. Communion.

K. For what Reasons? A. Probably because so lately, and unanimously, agreed to.

K. Have not ye Dissenters deserv'd well since? A. The honest and deserveing will have no Benefit by ye Repeal.

(A) „ 19. H. Adjourn'd till Friday. d. Dr Smith. Even'. princess Anne &c.

(B) „ 20. The Bp of St A. and I sent for to dine wth ye A.B. of C. who acquainted us yt ye Earl of Sund. Mr Sec. Stanhop & B. Bernsdorff, had newly declar'd ye K's earnest desire to have ye Dissenters eas'd &c. propos'd to be done on a political foot, by a Sacramental Test in yir own Congregations. This also will justly raise Jealousies and Disquiets; & cannot be assented to by Bishops.

„ 22. I waited on the (D. of D.) Ld President; who gave me a most obligeing & open-hearted Acct of His Grace's haveing dealt freely with ye K. and foreign minrs in relation to ye pernitious Advices given (in favour of ye Dissenters) by two of our own Grandees, who know no more of ye Inclinations of ye Common people of G. Brittain than of those of China or Japan.

„ 23. Seven Bishops (Saru', Carlisle, Glocr, St Asaph, Linc, Bangor & Exon') treated at dinner by Ld Chancr Cowper; who modestly told us, That 'twas his misfortune to be pinn'd to ye Wool-sack, so yt he had not Access (as other Lords had) to ye Bench of Bishops:

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* See Nov. 27th, 1705.

† It appears from the diary (April 13th, &c.) that Dr. Cannon, who brought a message from the Lord Treasurer, was Sub-Almoner.

And therefore he beg'd that we would now inform him, what was variously reported, how our sentim^{ts} stood ab^{t} the Repeal of ye Act ag^{t} Occ. Conform'.
His L^{p} was hereupon assur'd that 18 in 25 (as ye K. has been told) would be ag^{t} ye Repeal; wch he easily credited, when he found Four of us (Carl. S^{t} As. Linc. & Exon) were so. He recommended to our perusal ye Corporation-Act of 1661 as w^{t} might suggest a more allowable scheme.

[1717.]

(A) Mar.27. d. with me, at opening my pot of chars, Mrs Paton, Mr Maleverer, J. Fisher, &c.
„ 28. d. at Dr Dent's. Ev'. Mr Harris & I wth Lady Governess.*

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* From this time the Baroness Gemmingen appears frequently in the diary under various names, as the Governess, Gem, L. Gemm, Pallas, P., &c. She had been with the Princess of Wales before her marriage. When the Elector of Hanover (afterwards George I.) sent his envoy von Eltz to propose to the Princess (then Caroline of Anspach) a marriage with his son, von Eltz wrote to the Elector, "There was no one else present, except at first Fräulein von Genningen, who stood discreetly apart, and with her back turned to us: she afterwards, at my suggestion, left the room."—(*Queen Caroline the Illustrious*, by W. H. Wilkins). At the time when Bishop Nicolson made her acquaintance she was governess to the Prince of Wales' children. The diary shews that the Bishop contemplated marriage with her, and on April 29th there was even some talk concerning the jointure. It would appear from a letter dated April 5th, 1718, (quoted below), that there was then still some idea of the marriage. It is not clear why the affair came to nothing, possibly on account of the lady's health, (see Sept. 11th and 29th, 1719, and Nov. 27th, 1723).

It appears from the *Familien Chronik der Freiherren von Gemmingen*, by C. W. F. L. Stocker, (printed by Kraemer & Schell, Heilbronn, 1895), that the family is very ancient. Ancestors are recorded as far back as the end of the ninth century, and there is a detailed pedigree from 1235, with a full account of the many branches.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century several members of the family appear to have been able and learned persons. Reinhard v. Gemmingen (of the Gemmingen-Hornberg line) was President of the Privy Council in Baden. He died at Basel 1707. Of his children "2, Auguste Sophie, geb. 2 April, 1676, war Hofdame der Prinzessin von Wales und Ober-hofmeisterin der Kgl. Prinzessin; ihr Bruder Ludwig besuchte sie, aber kaum war er 12 Stunden da, als sie starb, 1 Dez. 1723, in Leicester." [Evidently Leicester House, then the residence of the Prince and Princess of Wales, must be intended, and the day given in the Bishop's diary was Nov. 20th]. A portrait of this lady is still preserved in the family, and has been thus described to me: "The life-sized portrait of Augusta Sophia Baroness of Gemmingen is at Frankish Crümbach in Hesse and represents a charming lady with powdered hair, olive complexion, very deeply set eyes, smiling mouth with rather red lips, and large earrings of diamonds and pearls, but no other jewellery. The front of her black bodice is cut low, richly embroidered with gold, and trimmed at the edge with white lace. Very pretty sleeves, also trimmed with white lace, fall down to her elbows. Her gown is of silver-grey silk, and a red cloak hides her hands and the lower part of her arms." For my information concerning the Gemmingen family I am indebted to the Baroness Françoise Gemmingen.

(B) Mar.28. At five in ye evening, I went (wth Mr Harris*) to St James's to kiss the hand of princess Carolina; and, missing of her, was most courteously entertain'd by ye two Elder sisters. The Lady Governess (as accustom'd) read a Spectator in English; and Translated (Ex Tempore) a French Comedy read to her by my friend. With this excellent Lady we stay'd two hours; till ye princesses went to Supper 'twixt 8 & 9.

(A) Apr. 1. m. To ye Temple. p.m. with ye L. Governess &c.

„ 2. Mostly w^thin. d. wth me Dr Dent. Ev'. Birthday—Visit balk'd.†

„ 6. H. Printer's censur'd. p.m. wth Mr Harris to kiss ye hand of ye younger Princess Carolina &c.

„ 11. All ye day w^thin Doors, at Maundy-Lists and Sermon.

„ 12. d. wth me Mr Harris. Even'. At my B^r's where she-Capt Pinfold.

„ 13. m. Labouring, wth Dr Cannon &c. at our Maundy-Lists. p.m. L^rs.

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* Mr. Harris, who was much with the Bishop at this time, seems to have acted as a mutual friend: apparently he held some office about the Court, but I have not been able to ascertain what it was. He is called "Dean Harris" in the diary on and after June 22nd, 1721; but it appears from Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* that at that time there was no Dean of any English or Welsh Cathedral named Harris, and I am informed that he was not Dean of the Chapels Royal.

† An interesting memorial of this period of the Bishop's life is in the possession of his descendent, the Rev. W. O'N. Lindesay. It is a tortoise-shell snuff box, inside the lid of which there is a small allegorical painting. On a separate piece of paper, worn and yellow with age, and folded up so as to fit into the box, is the following description: "The painting is the history of y^r Lordship's Success in a certain contest of Eloquence on the 2^d of April 1717. F. Pallas appears to you, sitting in y^r historical Library, to present you with a Laurel, as the prize of a victory. The better to distinguish y^r L^p, you are drawn with the following symbols: The genius of Eloquence, being a woman arm'd with thunder, wch attends upon you. You are cloath'd with scarlet & purple; the first denoting ye degree of Doctor, the other, with a golden fring'd glove, denoting the Episcopal dignity."

Mr. Lindesay says: "Pallas is on the left of picture, supported by a cloud, on which she is apparently kneeling on one knee: she has a brazen helmet, brazen scale armour over the bust, under which is a white undergarment, rolled up to the armour above the elbows, a crimson cloak hangs from her back and envelopes most of her legs; in her right hand she holds a spear, in her left the laurel wreath which she is presenting to the Bishop: behind her on the cloud is an owl; her shield is hung on left arm: she is rather behind the Bishop's chair, and he, with very aquiline nose and pronounced features (not unlike King William III.) is turning round towards her: he has a quill pen in his hand with which he has been writing on a table covered with green cloth and with twisted legs, at the back of which the library is represented by about 20 books in four shelves, with gilt backs. The other figure is mostly covered by the Bishop. She has on steel helmet and armour, from edges of which issue rays, and she holds in her uplifted right hand a thunderbolt. She is girded with a sword."

PICTURE IN THE LID OF BISHOP NICOLSON'S SNUFFBOX.

Photo by J. Robinson & Sons, Dublin. TO FACE P. 10.

UNIV OF MI

Apr. 15. m. Finishing our Lists. p.m. I began to write my Sermon fair for ye King's Chapel.

(B) „ 17. The Bishops of Litchfield, Lincoln and Exeter (at the Request of ye L^d AB. of C.) met at my Lodgings: Where we unanimously agreed to lay before His Grace, as our humble opinion & Advice,—1. That it is highly necessary (at this Juncture) that he more frequently attend ye King in person; to prevent Misrepresentations.

2. That he privately call ye Bishop of Bangor* to him; and require him to explain ye offensive propositions in his Sermon.

3. That His M^ty be humbly address'd to beware of w^t commands he gives for ye printing Sermons.

4. That no Business (if it may be avoided) be enter'd upon in convocation, till ye p^rsent jumble is over.

(A) „ 18. Maundy Thursday. A wearisome day with me.

„ 20. Private all day. M^r H's Report from ye Lady Gov'.

„ 21. I preach'd at Court. King, prince & princess, communicated.

„ 24. m. Princess, on Hoadley. d. wth ye Chaplains. Even'. Gemminghen.

„ 26. m. At Court, too early for ye princess's prayers. d. At home.

„ 29. m. At Court, wth sec^ry Addison. Even'. L. Gemm' for Joyntures only.

May 1. d. At ye B. of Linc's. Even. with Lady Gov. & Ld Carlile, not Pr.

(B) „ 3. Mr Campbel (L^d provost of Edinburgh, visitting me wth Col. Cambel) saies.—The Army in the North is grievously oppressive to Newcastle; the Corporation paying 40^lb p. week for extraordinary supplies, besides the sufferings of Inn-Keepers & other Householders:

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* Benjamin Hoadley had been appointed Bishop of Bangor December 21st, 1715, and was consecrated March 18th, 171⅝. He became Bishop of Hereford 1721, of Salisbury 1723, of Winchester 1734, and died 1761. On March 31st, 1717, he preached before the King a sermon "on the nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ," in which he denied (or was supposed to deny) that there was such a thing as a visible church of Christ, or church authority. The sermon was printed at the King's command. It was censured by a committee of the lower House of Convocation; and this led to the prorogation of Convocation. Bishop Nicolson asserted that some important changes had been inserted in this sermon before publication, and gave as his authority Dr. White Kennet, Dean of Peterborough, who denied the statement. The matter caused much controversy, and gave Bishop Nicolson great annoyance: it is several times referred to in the diary.

And that Alderman Ridley is treated by ye Officers there as if he were a profess'd Jacobite or Rebel.
NB. This same Provost is a rigid presbyterian.

(A) May 11. Private (at L^ns) till ye even' when cheerful at St James's.
„ 12. m. I pr^d Charity-S. at St Magnus. d. at Mr Fetherston's. Ev' open; wth princesses &c.
„ 14. H. half an Irish Cause. Even'. Huzza Science!
„ 22. Vol. contrib. Even. Pallas.
„ 23. d. wth me Mr Harris & J. Rothery.
„ 26. Dr Boulter pr^d at ye Chapel. B. of As. and I at d. wth him &c. Even. Princess wth M. Gemm.
Jun. 2. Dr Carter, at St. James's. Even'. L^d AB. of C's Nar' frō ye princess.
„ 3. My Birth Day. A^o Æt 63. Miserere Deus! At my B^r's.
„ 4. d. with ye AB. of C. Even'. Way paved for my Return to Pallas.
„ 5. Private till even. When openly again w^th &c.
„ 6. d. wth me Mr Plen. Po. Harris. Even' wth B. of Linc. to Grove-H.
„ 9. Adieu, Pallas. I preach'd at Court. d. wth ye Chaplains. B. of Asaph and I home frō prayers.
„ 12. NB. Messenger frō Lady Gemm'.
„ 14. m. With Pallas &c. seeing the Tombs. A^o Consecrat. 16th. Even'. At my B^r's.
„ 15. Private. Mr H. at d. wth me. Complimented on supposed mar'.
„ 17. Lame and private. p.m. Mr H. with message from Pr. Anne &c.
„ 19. d. Mr H. wth whom at St James's.
„ 20. At 10 in ye even'. L. Carolina Lowisa (d. to ye E. of Holderness) christned by me. The prince Godfather, & ye Rograffin* & C's of Essex Godmothers.

The Case of ye B^p of C.

(B) 1. He, haveing not read ye B^p of Bangor's Ans^r to Dr Snape's first Letter, understood (by D^r H's Report) that ye Answerer had solemnly deny'd that he advis'd with any man before his Sermon's comeing abroad: which was contrary to w^t Dr K. had said.

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* "Raugraf" was a title, of doubtful etymology, held by various families in the Rhine district. The Elector Palatine, Karl Ludwig, conferred the title of Raugräfin on his morganatic wife.

2. In this Inadvertency or Mistake ye Bis^p^ of C. continu'd till he saw ye B^p^ of Bangor's 1st Advertisem^t^. This Fundamental Mistake has been acknowledg'd; and fairly acc^ts^ for for all ye seeming contradictions, wch ye B^p^ of B. must see (in his conscience) are all strain'd and falsely charg'd.

The following extracts from (B) may also be inserted here, to complete the subject of the controversy as to Bishop Hoadley's sermon.

(B) July 21. Mr Fitzger^d^ acquainted me frō ye B^p^ of Winton y^t^ AD. Hoadley * was present at ye beginning of a Conference 'twixt his brother (ye B^p^ of B.) & D^r^. K. before ye publishing of his Sermon &c.

„ 23. The B^p^ of Linc. desires ye B. of Bangor to ans^r^ clearly Whether ye D. of Pet. was not with him 'twixt preaching & publishing; & ye Dean (who this day din'd wth him) to explain what it was that, as he saies, led me into a Mistake. Till both these are done, he thinks my plea good. I am sure it is.

Aug. 1. Mr Dean of Y. & Mr Lamp^s^ Acc^t^ of D^r^ K's History censur'd by ye D. of Leedes; and his certificate for a Minor Canon of Pet. under prosecution for Adultery, contradicted by Mr Evans.

„ 14. Mr R^t^ Sanderson (at Stanwix) assur'd me y^t^ ye Dean had rec^d^ 5^lb^ in ye morning; & deny'd ye Rec^t^ in ye Afternoon.

D^r^ K's Advertisem^t^ in ye Dayley Courant of Wedn. July 24, 1717.

The B^p^ of Carl. never in my Study alone, w^th^out some other Company for several months past. His wife p^r^sent (I think) alwaies, some p^t^ of ye time; but as often order'd to withdraw, particularly, after her motion ab^t^ ye B^prick^ of N. May 29.

—I never advis'd ye B^p^ of B. in amending &c. any one word in his Sermon. Would not an explanatory pre-

* John Hoadley, younger brother of Benjamin Hoadley, was at this time Prebendary and Archdeacon of Salisbury. He became Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns 1727, Archbishop of Dublin 1730, of Armagh 1742, and died 1746.

face amended many words & expressions in it, by setting them in a better Light? Qu. Mr Collins.
—In some perplexity and Confusion of Mind. True; upon the Discovery of ye hitherto unheeded Difference 'twixt preaching and Publishing. Hope & suppose &c. For Ansr to ye Bp of B's charge of my being in Confederacy to slander him, see Dr Burnet's Coll.

(A) July 1. E. of Oxford acquitted. My Advertisemt published.
" 2. B. of B's long Ansr. Visitted by too many. Mostly private.
" 3. H. Scotch Bill &c. p.m. D. Kennett's Lrs to AB. of C. & me.
" 4. m. B. of Linc's Lr frō Dr K. p.m. Hard at my press-work.
" 5. Early Dinner. H. Turn-pike. p.m. Postscript &c. to my printed Lr.
" 7. d. at my Br's wth Sis. Rothery &c. Even.' Introd. of my Lr censur'd.
" 8. Lr publish'd. d. wth me Mr H. private on Lr to Dr K. Presents.
" 9. Lr to K. publish'd. I din'd &c. at home. Even'. Lrs.
" 11. Dr W. & I at d. wth my Br. Ev' (ultimu' vale) with Pallas.
" 15. End of ye Session. d. wth me my son & two Nephews. Private, at Add. Remarks.
" 20. m. Farewells. d. wth me, Mr Harris, Mallevr nephew R. and son John. Ev' late at St. James's. Farewell.
" 22. Cous. Rothery and I set out for Lincoln; and by ye way of York &c. Happily finish'd our Journey on—
Aug. 5. —when we were met at Penrith by a great many friends; who came with us to Rose.
Sep. 10. d. Mr Alexr Carlton, professing High-Church; but loyalty to K.G.
" 17. d. Mr R. Aglionby & Ald (Mayor prsumptive) T. Jackson. p.m. Mr Malevr to Kirk-oswald.
" 30. At ye Mayor's (Mr Jackson's) Feast. p.m. D. of Rippon &c. to C.
Oct. 8. Thro' storms, to dine at Edenhall, wth ye Dean &c. Home, wth Dr B. after 9 at night.
" 18. m. Hunting. d. All Treated by Br Carlile at Dalston-Hall.
" 30. His R. H's Birthday; with wishes &c. and health to P.

Nov. 17. This day, 36 years since my being Instal'd Prebendary at Carlile and 5 since my dear wife's death. Many and Evil!

„ 25. With my Br &c. to dine wth ye D. and Chapter: where ye King's Speech &c.

„ 26. After a Second Dinner, and consulting on the Test-Act &c. home.

Dec 22. One priest and eight Deacons ordain'd. Dr Benson preach'd and Mr Malevr officiated as Archdeacon.

„ 30. I set out for Westmr in pleasant weather. God continue ye cheerful prospect.

171⅞.

The diary of this period is fragmentary, and is a good deal concerned with the disputes between the King and the Prince of Wales.

Jan. 18. The K's new proposals to ye P. 1. Nom' of his servts. 2. Rt claim'd to ye children wth 40,000lb. 3. No Companions disagr' to His Mty. 4. Satisf. in form to Ds of Newc. & Roxb. 5. Fair wth all ye Ministry. } AB. of C.

„ 23. D. of Dev. and E. of Pemb. must move ye P. to submission: 10 (of 12) Judges haveing given up ye children. } AB. of C. in ye Lobby.

„ 24. Warning (by Mr H.) to D. of A. At ye House AB. of C. unsatisfy'd wth Reasons of 10 Judges. E. of Sund. kind in his professions to me.

„ 27. My Sub. Almr hints that one Argumt agt parting wth ye children will be drawn frō E. 4's Queen giving up (frō ye Sanctuary) her younger son; who dy'd with his Br in ye Tower. God forbid!

„ 28. M. Gem's grateful acct of ye K's Goodness to her; & ye D's of M's &c.

„ 30. G's Hardships by consultation.
NB. Dn K. at ye Chapel.

Feb. 4. G. in New Joy on ye K's repeated Goodness to Her and ye Children. Esto!

„ 8. B. of Sar.* complain'd to that an Anabaptist was bury'd in

* William Talbot, Bishop of Oxford 1699, of Sarum 1715, of Durham 1721, died 1730.

ye Church-yard w^th^out consent or knowledge of ye Incumbent, asks Advice. B. of Linc. * would know whether any prayer &c. us'd at ye Interm^t^. B^p^ of Gloc. † What harm if there was, considering there's a Toleration? O Tempora! [H. of Lords].

Mar. 8. D. of Bolton encourages & hopes for Derry; and AB. of C. confirms 'em. L. Gem' (by Mr H.) sends me a despairing Ans^r^ to my Congrat' Letter, on prospect of Peace.

„ 10. m. Mr Harris brought me Princess Ann's picture drawn by her own hand, & sent to me from herself. In ye Even' Mr H. and I waited on Her Highness; playing at Piquet wth ye Governess, and (A^o^ æt 9) syllogizeing in true Mood and Figure, & appositly quoteing ye 2^d^ punic war.

„ 14. In ye morning A.D. Trimnel sent to Lambeth with Assurances of my being Bishop of London-Derry, and his brother Green Bishop of Carlile. The former part of this acc^t^ was presently confirm'd in ye House by ye B^p^ of Norwich; and thereupon I was complimented by all. The same afternoon ye House was in a Grand Committee on the Bristol-Bill, wherein was a Repeal of a Clause in a former Act, provideing that ye Govern^rs^ of their Corporation for provideing for ye poor should take ye Test. Upon one Question, ye Committee divided: And five of ye B^ps^ (Sarum, Norwich, Gloc^r^ Linc. and Bangor) voted ag^t^ ye two Archbishops & the rest of y^lr^ Brethren. For my continueing with the latter, I was kept from my Irish Translation; and (ye next morning) another took away my s^d^ presumptive Bishoprick, as was generally Reported. Yet on the—

„ 17th (St Patrick's day) ye King was pleas'd to nominate me to ye Bishoprick of London-Derry; as was signify'd to me (in ye House of Lords) by ye D. of Bolton L^d^ L^t^ of Ireland.—And, the next day, His Grace introduceing me, I had thereupon ye Honour to Kiss His M^ty's^ hand.

„ 22. p.m. I went, wth ye B^p^ of St Asaph, to Lambeth. The AB. told us that he had, ye day before, a Visit from ye B^p^ of Roch^r^ who accus'd me of giveing His Grace's proxy in Parliam^t^ contrary to his Instructions. Upon which, His G. declar'd to ye B. of St A. (what, he assur'd him, he had likewise said to ye B. of R^r^) that I had ever faithfully discharg'd ye Trust repos'd in me; and that He should lose his right hand on my Removal to Ireland.

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* Edmund Gibson, Bishop of Lincoln 1716, of London 1723, died 1748.

† Richard Willis, Bishop of Gloucester 1715, of Sarum 1721, of Winchester 1723, died 1734.

From the curious correspondence published in Ferguson's *M.P.'s for Cumberland and Westmorland*, pp. 101 to 104, it seems that the Bishop had pleased the authorities by supporting a Whig candidate for Carlisle in 1715, when Sir Christopher Musgrave desired to be elected. The income of the See of Derry appears to have been much larger than that of Carlisle: this was no doubt the chief attraction.*

In a letter to Archbishop Wake, the Bishop mentions the astonishment and disappointment which he felt when the King told him that he expected him to reside in his new Diocese. (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6116). It appears from the following letter in the same collection that the marriage with the Baroness Gemmingen was still in contemplation.

April 5, 1718.

My Lord, Last night about seven o'clock Baron Bothmar brought a Message (from His Majesty) to the Governess; letting her know that it was His Royal Pleasure that she should leave her Charge, and dispose of herself elsewhere; But, that the rest of the Attendants on the Young Princesses were allowed to continue in their respective Posts. That they may lead to the Return of their Royal Highnesses to their father & children, is the hearty Prayer of

Your Grace's most obedient Servant

W. Carlile.

There are no entries in the diary between March 22nd and May 23rd, 1718, when he set out for Ireland. It is disappointing not to find in his first impressions of that country more which is worth printing, or which is of interest from the point of view of our Society. The deficiency may be to some extent supplied by the following extract from Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii., p. 216:—

* "My temporalties beyond hope 1213 lb. p. y." (Memorandum in diary Aug. 10th, 1718): "y" must have been a slip for the "*half* year," for in a letter to Archbishop Wake on Aug. 23rd, 1718, he says that "the Rents of the See of Derry for 6 months (without any fines) were £1213": and in one written on Jan. 31, 1719, speaking of the suggestion that he might go to Londonderry, he had said, "He [the Bishop of Meath] assures me that I shall have a Rental of £2400 besides Fines."

Bishop Nicolson, who was translated in 1718 from the See of Carlisle to that of Derry, gives in a series of letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, a vivid description of the misery both of the towns and of the country districts. "Our trade of all kind" he wrote in 1720, "is at a stand, insomuch as that our most eminent merchants who used to pay bills of 1000£ at sight, are hardly able to raise 100£ in so many days. . . . Our best beef (as good as I ever ate in England) is sold under ¾d. a pound, and all this not from any extraordinary plenty of commodities, but from a perfect dearth of money." Though apparently a hard and selfish man,* the scenes of wretchedness which he witnessed on his journey from Dublin to his diocese moved him to a genuine compassion. "Never did I behold," he writes, "even in Picardy, Westphalia, or Scotland, such dismal marks of hunger and want as appeared in the countenances of most of the poor creatures I met with on the road." He dilates upon the rack-rents, the miserable hovels, the almost complete absence of clothing: and he tells how, one of his carriage horses having been accidentally killed, it was at once surrounded by fifty or sixty famished cottagers struggling desperately to obtain a morsel of flesh for themselves and their children.

Extracts from the diary are now continued.

1718.

July 2. My Primary Visitation.

" 5. Goeing (wth ye Dean & Mayor of Derry &c.) to dine at Fawn, we took our way by ye Top of Greanan-Gormely; whence we could see ye Outlets of the two great Loghs of Foyle and Suilly. The word signifies the place where (Queen) Gormely bask'd herself in ye sun. This Lady is s^d^ to have been wife to Neal o Neal a Quondam-King of Ulster; who kept his Residence at ye Castle of Elagh in this neighbourhood. She was daughter to a prince of ye Highlands in Scotland; and is suppos'd to have gone ye oftner to ye Top of this Hill to look towards ye Countrey where she was born, ye point of Cantyre being to be seen hence. Here are Remains of a Fort of Stones, like that of Maiden-Castle upon Stanemore, around wch are Cavities or Lusking-Holes. Not many Raths (or Danish Forts) in this Countrey.

NB. The Mountain of Sleaver-Snaght (i e Snowdon) is the highest in Inchowen; on the Top whereof, saies M^r^

* It may be hoped that the reader of the Bishop's diaries will not altogether endorse this opinion.

McManus, there are Beds of Shells (of Oysters, Cockles, and Muscles) wch have laid there since Noah's Flood, and have alwaies a moisture on 'em at High-water. Qu.
The Isle of Inch, in Logh-Suilly, is in ye parish of Temple-Moor. The Oysters here as good as at Colchester.

July 27. I held an Ordination at Londonderry for ye necessary occasions of ye Diocese; wherein Two Dublin-Batchelours (Mr Cha. Vaughan and Mr Gustavus Hamilton) and three Scotch Masters (Mr John Egleson, Mr Ralph Davenport and Mr Sam. Law) were ordain'd: The two former Deacons, and ye other three priests. No Licences, pending ye Ld primate's Inhibition.

Aug. 1. I read prayers (first and second Service) at Londonderry; Col. Michelburn's Bloody Flag being hoisted, ye first time, on ye steeple. p.m. Great Guns & Volleys. Even'. Splendid Treat in ye Tolset, Fireworks & Illuminations.

„ 2. Saturday, in ye evening, Mr Dean and I met (with a coach & four) Dr Wye ye Primate's single Commissioner; ye expected Bp of Down excuseing himself in a Lr to me. The next day (Sunday) we carry'd him to Church; treated him at Dinner &c. The next morning (Munday) he put on his Scarlet Gown in ye Vestry; where his commission was read and ye Bp Dean & Chapter visitted, wthout any ones sitting down. Thence I follow'd him to my Throne; and (Dr Ward's excellent Sermon agt Free thinkers ended) the Clergy were call'd, and generally appear'd. The Churchwardens had Articles given, to wch they were to answer immediately. The Visitation was adjourn'd till Nine on Tuesday-morning—But ye commr left us about that hour, & (from the Confines of ye Diocese with that of Rapho) sent me a Relaxation. NB. The Visitation (of ye Clergy) was open'd with a public Reprimand of ye AB's Apparitor for his Rudeness, in offering to serve me with an Inhibition two days before my own Visitation.

„ 5. NB. Mr Collier's Acct of ye swimming of Stones up ye River at Donaghmore on ye Day whereon the pretender's Standard was erected by ye E. of Mar in Scotland, fulfilling an Irish Prophecy.
It. AD. Hamilton's of Bp Lesley's Holly Polly at Rapho. Oysters on several mountains.

„ 8. m. Mr Forster brought me a seal'd Instrumt of Freedome from ye Mayor & Alderm'. Takeing Leave, We went hence (25 Horsemen) to ye E. of Antrim's whimsical Castle of Dunluce, on a rotten rock in ye sea: whence (two or

three miles farther) to ye stupendous Giant's Causeway. It's plainly a Range of extraordinary Columns of Stone Tumbled, headlong into ye sea, from ye neighbouring Rock; which are visibly of ye like Strata of multangular pillars, Squares, pentagons, Hexagons &c. The most notorious of these are the Organs, Giant's Chair, Looms &c. Vide Phil. Transac. n. 212 et 235. It 199. 241.

Aug. 9. By Maghresharkin and Maghre-Noghil (where we dined, and parted wth Mr Winder) we came to Antrim; along the Head of ye mighty Lake of Neagh (or Birds) 20 miles in Length & 14 in breadth. Here are ye famous Hones for Rasors, Grey Trouts and Skellies (here call'd Pollons) as in Hulls-water. It empties itself into Loch-Beg, or ye little Loch; and that into the Bann.

„ 14. I went on Board at half an hour past Four in ye morning; and in Nine hours of calm weather, landed at Port Patrick; whence attended to Stranrare (on Lough Ryan) by Mr Dun, waiter to his Collector Mr Bruce, to adjust Demands on our Horses. Mr Bradshaw, Cornet of Dragoons, quitted his chamber to me; & furnish'd us with Oysters & Trouts.

„ 15. After 18 long miles (by Castle-Kennedy, Glenluce, &c.) we baited at Newton-Steward; and p.m. pass'd on by Ferry-Town of Cree—to Gatehouse of Fleet: where we were met by Mr Murray, and conducted to good Lodgings at his House of Kaley.

„ 16. Mr M. brought us cross ye River Dee, in sight of Kilenbert and by Carlingwark, half way to Drumfrese, where Treated by ye Bayliffs. The Provost was gone to Edinburgh to crave Protection from ye Governm^t ag^t a Riotous Meeting of ye Brewers; who refus'd to pay an Additional Duty of one Bothwel (or 2^d Scotch) on y^ir pint of Ale, laid on by an Act of ye last Session of Parl^t (as at Glasgow, for ye use of ye Two Corporations respectively) at y^ir own Request. NB. The outcry ag^t ye Isle of Man as great here as in the North of Ireland; all agreeing that ye King loses at least 100,000^lb p. An' in his customs by ye running of Goods from that Island. M^r Js. Mackartney (of Belfast) saies—Their Town alone falls 4000^lb in ye yearly customes; and y^t himself has landed 14000 Gallons of Brandy in the Isle, at 2^s 4^d per Gallon, since March last.

„ 17. p.m. I was visitted by Mr Patten and M^r (dull and pert) ——— ye two preachers of ye Town of Drumfriese; as also by Mr Lerman (an Episcopal Clergyman) & Mr Ross.

„ 18. We set out (at ½ hour after six) for Cumberland, din'd at

Annan, and arriv'd happily at Rose-Castle about eight at night. Deo Laus!

No diary is preserved from Aug. 18th, 1718, to the end of that year.

1719.

Samuel Bradford had been consecrated as Bishop of Carlisle at Lambeth on June 1st, 1718: but he delayed coming to the Diocese *; and the beginning of 1719 found Bishop Nicolson still at Rose Castle. The diary contains little of interest.

Mar. 22. My last Sermon at Rose.
„ 26. p.m. I remov'd to Carlile.
„ 27. Good Friday. I prd in ye Cathed.
„ 29. Easter-day. I preach'd for (and dined with) ye Dean.
Apr. 10. At the Soccage-Dinner.
„ 15. d. wth old Mrs Brisco, after a view of ye Houses at park-broom.
„ 16. Daughters at Hawkesdale. Even' wth ye Dean &c. at ye Gunner's.
„ 23. p.m. Complimt from ye Quire.
„ 26. A Troublesome day, in bidding Farewell at Carlile.
„ 27. I left Carlile, parted with the Dean & Clergy at Wigton, dined (wth two Howards, Mr Molyneux &c.) at Workington, and lodg'd at Cl. Nicolson's (my daughters at Mr Coates's) in Whitehaven.
„ 28. After Dinner, at or respective Lodgings, we took leave of Br John, Dr B., Br Carlile, &c. & embark'd, in a calm. About 8. a Land Breeze carry'd us to sea.
„ 29. We pass'd ye Isle of Man, Mull of Galloway, ye Maidens, Bloody Foreland, Isle of Rathlin &c and (about 9 at night) anchor'd in the mouth of Logh-Foyle.
May 4. NB. Mr Semple's Horse Elf-shot.†
Jun. 6. Wholly private all day in removeing Books into my new Study.
„ 8. Going to Rapho, ye coach overturn'd; my face cut &c.

* Bishop Bradford seems to have only once visited the Diocese (Ferguson's *History of Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 171): he was translated to Rochester in 1723, in succession to Atterbury (who was deprived), and died in 1731.

† See June 27th, 1712.

From June 24th to Nov. 3rd the Bishop was in Dublin.

Aug. 26. m. To Susan in her new Apartmt and Mr Hornby. d. wth me Mr Lewis.
Sep. 11. m. Ld Chancr Dr Hamilton, who din'd and (p.m.) went wth me near Santry, on ye Topick of Wedlock.
„ 29. m. Dr Ham' adviseing an End. *
Oct. 13. A first time d. wth me Ja. Nicolson; morning & night wth dying Mr Ingoldsby.
„ 18. Dr Howard prd at Ch. Ch. d. wth me, my nephew W.N.† and Mr Christian. Ev' Mr Ingoldsby's Funeral.
„ 26. Ev. 7 Pacquets, & (wth them) Cous. Rothery and Son John.
„ 30. H. as yesterday d. wth me, my son & two Nephews.
Nov. 9. Leaving Colraine, we dined at Mr G. Semple's, and (magnâ com' catervâ) got safe to Derry abt sun-setting. Deo Gloria!
Dec. 1. Ev'. My Son & J. Rothery, Freemen.
„ 26. p.m. Dr Benson, and my Daughters, early frō Strabane. Very Welcome. God be prais'd.
„ 31. d. Only Mr Mansfield a Diversion to the Girls; Cous. Rothery and my son John at ye Dean's.

1720.

May 10. News of ye death of my dear Susan on ye 6th.‡
„ 26. Ascension Day. Son John Deacon.
Jun. 12. Ordination son John & Mr Ham' priests.
„ 15. Son John Instituted.§
„ 22. d. All ye Squires S.Drums & Kittles.
July 1. d. Mr Ball, Mr Bolton &c. My last will.
„ 14. To Muff, wth Dr B. & my daughter. Valete.
Dec. 23. Fast. I prd wth Spectacles.

The diary for 1721 is rather more full, and contains more which seems worth printing. It begins with detailed accounts for the whole year, in which the total expenditure was £1,023 15s. 11½d.

* See note on Mar. 28th, 1717.

† Son of his brother John, and Vicar of Dalston 1727 to 1731.

‡ Nichols, p. 522, gives a letter from Bishop Downes concerning Susan's death. Henry Downes (Bishop of Killala 1716, of Elphin 1720, of Meath 1724, of Derry 1726, died 1735) was a very intimate friend of Bishop Nicolson, and Nichols gives many letters from him on personal as well as public matters. See below Jan. 16, 172⅞.

§ To the living of Donaghmore.

1721.

Jan. 20. The Litany-Collects, to avert the plague, rec^{d} by the post.

„ 28. m. Son John set out for Belfast; In complim^{t} to Mr Collier and his sister. d. Dr Ward and Mr Norman. The greatest Snow this winter.

Feb. 8. No Company. Yesterday's post came this morning; the Frost and Snow both continueing. p.m. I sat in ye Consistory; and found plenty of Irregularities.

„ 11. No Company. p.m. The Back-Gate broken open by Corporal Lion; who wounded Abraham Hope in his right hand. The Commandant (Capt Ferguson) sent ye Delinquent to ye Guard.

„ 14. m. The officers of ye Garrison censur'd y^{ir} offending Corporal in such a manner as I thought too severe; and thereupon I beg'd off his being picquetted & whip'd, desireing only y^{t} he might continue suspended till there was some Appearance of his growing sober.

Mar. 9. m. The Chanc^{r} made acquainted wth y^{e} Irregularities of his Court.

„ 16. Mr Dean and 's Family abroad. Qu. on suspected Matrim'.

„ 23. p.m. from prayers home wth y^{e} Dean; who read me his B$^{r's}$ (dislik'd) Case before y^{e} L^{ds} of G.B. and to whom I intimated my Design to complain (in my approaching visitation) of 9 Parishes wherein neither Incumbent nor Curate resided.

„ 25. With y^{e} New Year, a new Course of Life (Deo dante) resolv'd on: especially, in relation to Tobacco, &c in the mornings.

„ 29. d. Mr Collier & M^{r} McManus. p.m. Ditto C's demand's for 's Sister, viz. settlem^{t} for building & furnishing & a child's portion.

Apr. 3. Cous. Ja. Nicolson, frō Whitehaven; wthout any Certificate; or any Sermon compos'd in his year's loitering there. No Company.

„ 4. m. The Reg^{r} in warmth, avowing his Integrity. Let that be try'd to-morrow.

„ 6. Mandy-Thursday. d. Only Sh. McManus. p.m. Visitted by Mr Ainstruther, recovering. Ev'. At ye Dean's Roasting ye Reg^{r}.

„ 7. Mr Sutheby pr^{d} and we all fasted till after Evening Service.

„ 12. m. Mr Graffan, in hopes of subdueing ye Rapperies.* d.

* After the extensive confiscation of lands in Ireland following the great rebellion of 1641, many of the old proprietors and their followers waged a sort of guerilla warfare under the names of Tories and Rapparees against their

At ye Mayor's with ye Judge &c. &c.

May 2. With Mr Dean (in my Chariot) to Dungeven; where a great Crowd, of Clergy & Gentlemen, attending the Funeral of Col. Cary. I bury'd the Corpse, in the Old Church; wherein (as in ye new) there 's nothing but Bare Walls unroof'd. We return'd in ye Afternoon; haveing Travel'd 32 Irish miles. I found no Symptomes of ye Gravel, on this long day's journey. Deo Laus!

„ 4. m. Dr Ward & Mrs A. Bolton marry'd in ye Cathedral; and AD. Rothery * and Mrs Pearson at Muff. d. Only Mr Blackhall, the Tyer of the latter Knot. p.m. Compliments pd by me & Mr Malevr and return'd by ye Dean & his son Jos.

„ 8. It. Mr Collier and Mr Read, wth a vitious Draught of my Son's Marriage-Settlement.

„ 10. With Dr Squire, Mr Read, ye AD. and my son (in ye King's Boat) to Culmore; where we din'd, on our own provisions, and return'd with Wind & Tide. At our comeing home, my son's Horse (of 15lb) lay dead on ye Dunghill.

„ 18. Ascension-Day. m. My Son's Marriage-Settlements sign'd and perfected.

„ 19. m. In the chariot wth Cous. E. Rothery (her Husband & my Nancy rideing by) to Muff; whence we return'd to Dinner. Son John set out at ye same time, with Mr Collyer for Belfast; in expectance of being marry'd next week. Fortunet Deus!

„ 20. p.m. News brought me of the better of two Coach-Horses (bought ye last week of Mr P. Benson for 26lb) being stifled in a Ditch. More misfortunes of ye like kind approaching. Another in convulsions by too soon being put into ye Ferry-Boat.

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successors. After the earlier years of the eighteenth century the names became attached to any bands of marauders. See Lecky's *History of England*, vol. ii., pp. 345-7.

* Joseph Rothery had followed his uncle's fortunes in Ireland : see note on Sept. 21st, 1714. He became Archdeacon of Derry in 1719, and Rector of Dunboe, a living which before the disestablishment of the Irish Church was attached to the Archdeaconry. On Nov. 10th, 1722, he was granted a faculty to hold also the rectory of Aghanloo ; and further, on Oct. 2nd, 1723, he was allowed to hold also the rectory of Tamlaght-Finlagan. He died in July, 1731, and was interred at St. Andrew's, Dublin.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*.

In a letter written in May, 1722, (British Museum Add. MSS. 6117) Archbishop King says that Bishop Nicolson had given already three of the best benefices in his diocese (one of them the Archdeaconry) to a son and two relations or friends, and that it was reported that he was trying to get the Deanery for his son-in-law. This was Dr. Benson, whom he mentioned in a letter to Archbishop Wake on May 31st, 1722, as a suitable person for that preferment.

May 22. m. Visitted by Mr Lee a Lieut. of our new Garrison, brought to me by Mr Mclewaine. It. by Jos. Bolton; who brought Books of Correction, wherein were Adulterers, &c. presented in 1714. and yet sub judice.

„ 23. m. My second Coach-Horse dy'd.

„ 27. d. Only Mr McManus & Mr Percival. p.m. A single Blew-coat Girl being at Church, I called her to me; and enquired where ye other five were for a month past. She said they were gone to service; but that Mr Sotherby had five more to put in their places, and that they would all appear in their new Cloathes tomorrow. Qu.

„ 31. Mr Mayr AD. McManus Lt Lee & Lt Picket went down ye water with me (to Culmore &c.) in Quest of Seals. We dined together cheerfully; but return'd home in stormy weather.

June 3. My Birth-day; beginning the 67th year of my Age. Lord, let me know (consider and prepare for) my latter end!

„ 4. Trinity Sunday. Ja. Nicolson ordain'd Deacon.*

„ 9. m. The AD. and my two elder Daughters set out for (Mr Gorge's) Somerset; in some hopes of bringing home my son and his Bride. Weather cold and Stormy.

„ 13. Seal fishing again. We caught one; din'd together at ye Fish-House, & return'd weary enough.

„ 14. Anno Consecr. 20mo Yet God help!

„ 20. AD. and 's wife, with my Nancy to Colrain; in order to meet son John & his Bride.

„ 22. d. Mr Bowen, chaplain to ye Regiment; with Recommendations from Dean Harris and Dr Wotton.

„ 24. d. Only Mr Bowen. p.m. Letters frō ye AD. notifying that ye comeing of my son and his Bride was deferr'd from this day till Tuesday or Wednesday in ye next week. This Notice came after Four in ye Afternoon: Whereas Mr McManus, and others set out early to dine wth them at New-Town and Dr Ward (wth all ye Clergy) went, after dinner to meet ym at Muff.

July 1. An Anniversary for ever to be observ'd, in Remembrance of my great Deliverance on this day Twelve-month.† Laudetur Dnūs in æternum!

„ 6. d. Col. Townsend, Majr Bunbury Col. Bream (my fellow-soldier at Penrith-Fell ‡) and Capt Savage.

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* Compare April 3rd. We shall see presently what great sorrow he brought upon the Bishop.

† It does not appear what this deliverance had been.

‡ See Note on Nov. 2nd, 1715.

July 14. d. No Company. p.m. After long waiting for the primate's Comm^{rs} Mr Synnott (ye Reg^{r}) came, at Ten, to sup with us; & reported that Dr Redgate was weather-fast three miles off, & that Mr Whaley halted for him on ye other side of ye water.

„ 15. My Coach went early (a second time) to attend ye visitors; who came to y^{ir} Lodgings at Mr Goon's before eight o'clock. The AD and my son went presently to wait on y^{m}. At eleven they came to me; and Dr R. tender'd the AB's Mandate, wch I refus'd to look into before ye day of Visitation. It seem'd to be expected that I should immediately have own'd their powers, by placeing them in the Throne. This I could not agree to, till ye Commission was regularly open'd on ye 17th. They din'd & sup'd with me; and I sent wine to y^{ir} Lodgings.

„ 16. The Comm^{rs} sate (as yesterday) in ye Stalls of ye Dean & AD. Mr Whaley pr^{d} in ye morning; and p.m. Dr Squire. All din'd wth me again. S. The Comm^{rs} at ye Dean's.

„ 17. Visitation. The Primate's Commission first read in my parlour; whence we went in procession to the Church, the Junior Clergy (two & two) going first, and ye AD. Dr Ward & myself immediately preceding ye Comm^{rs} whom I follow'd into the Throne. No Second Service nor Sacram^{t}. Dr Jenkins pr^{d}. Half ye Call finish'd, we din'd (with all ye D^{rs} and Chief Clergy) at my House. p.m. The Remainder of the Call: And ye Comm^{rs} wth Mr Synot & Mr Morgan, sup'd with me. NB. Dr Redgate now acquainted me that their leaving Dublin in a Hurry prevented y^{ir} bringing an Authentic Seal; but that they would send me a Relaxation, as soon as they arriv'd at Dublin. O mores!

„ 18. I attended, into ye Court, Mr Whaley, who presently adjourn'd to this day month. Takeing leave of my two Masters, I went to Morning-prayer in ye Church.

„ 22. m. Mr Stewart of Ballintoy, wth Mr Boyd; betwixt whom and my daughter Anne he propos'd a match. The Terms seem'd fair to me; but she dislik'd ye whole proposal.

„ 26. m. Mr Stewart of Ballintoy's earnest Repitition of Mr Boyd's proposals; with a Letter from his elder B^{r} confirming the offer of 50^{lb} Joynture. d. Mr Blackhall & Mr Finlay. p.m. Mr Boyd, impatient for my d. A's Answer; which altogether discourageing.

„ 27. m. AD. Rothery and 's wife took ship for Whitehaven, with a fair Westerly wind, about a Quarter after Eleven. Fortunet Deus!

p.m. Mr McManus first, and afterwards Mr Stewart, with fresh Importunities in favour of Mr Boyd.

July 29. With Col. Townsend Major Bunbury, &c. to attend Mr Hart in Seal-Fishing. We caught nothing, but good Stomachs to our Dinner.

Aug. 2. d. Capt Norris & Lt Beaver. p.m. Cous. Ja. Jackson with a letter from his father, requesting my getting him into ye Excise here after his being turn'd out of ye like Service in England.

The diary of this year ends with Sept. 25th when the Bishop was attending Parliament in Dublin; where he still was at the beginning of 1722, but he returned home early in February. The diary is still short, and of little interest.

1722.

Feb. 1. After dinner at Augher, the Coach broken 7 miles short of Omagh whither I rode in ye dark.

„ 3. After sealing a Lease of Adstra to young Ol. McCausland, I view'd ye School at Lifford &c. conducted home by three pts of Derry. Deo Laus!

Mar. 3. Ev'. Sworn Justice of peace by Mr Norman.

May 8. Mr Malevr's Wedding.*

„ 17. Mr Mayor, Ald. McManus, &c. went wth us, in ye K's Boat, to our Ship at Redcastle.

„ 18. Abt 5 p.m. we pass'd by ye Tunns, and held on our course all night.

„ 19. At ye Isle of Man, ye wind turn'd. But we landed safe at Whitehaven at 9½.

„ 23. By Brayton & Crofton to Carlile.

„ 24. d. wth us Capt Briscoe &c. &c.

„ 25. Treated by ye Corporation.

„ 28. K's Birth. p.m. At ye Town-Hall.

June 23. Grand Chapter. Only Dean & Vice Dean.

„ 24. Mr Birket prd second Chapter Dinner.

„ 28. Mr Dean & ye 4 prebendaries din'd wth me.

„ 29. d. Ditto Dean and Dr Todd. Ev'. dd. frō Rose.

July 5. d. wth Sr C. M. & 's Uncles. p.m. Home.†

Aug. 13. Deo Auspice, My journey begun. Night at Appleby, wth Br two Nephews &c. &c.

* To the Bishop's daughter Elizabeth.

† The Bishop's quarrel with the Musgrave family was now to some extent healed; but they never seem to have been again on the same cordial and intimate terms as before.

Aug. 14. Over rugged Stanemore to Greata-Br.
„ 30. To Cambridge p.m. wholly wth ye B^{p} of Carlile.
Sep. 1. By Rye-House and Enfield to London. S. wth cous. Fisher at B^{r} Jos's.
„ 6. After kissing ye King's hand d. wth us Capt Johnston, witness of my Reception.
„ 10. By Dr Harris's to Richmond*; where P. visitted, Prince & Princesses hands kiss and Lodg'd at Castle-Bear-Hill. Dean H. came home wth me to dinner; where also Capt Johnston. Ev'. Attending AD. Rothery &c. at ye Black Swan.
„ 13. d. AD. Rothery and 's wife, with her B^{r} and sister. p.m. Cous. R. N's wife & d.
„ 17. d. G. Spooner, to summons ag^{t} Wednesday. p.m. Comforting my B^{r} and 's daughter.
„ 21. m. wth my B^{r} & niece to Chelsea. NB. Cedars, Aloe, Arbutus, &c. d. At my B^{r}'s.
„ 26. News frō ye Isle of Wight. d. at home. Ev'. To ye B^{p} of Carlile's.
Oct. 1. Highly caress'd & countenanc'd at Richmond. d. wth D. Harris. NB. Mr Wogan.
„ 8. m. Mr Comm^{r} Brougham. d. Mr Harris & AD. R. p.m. wth Dean Harris to Sr J. Philips and P's apartm^{t} in Leicester-House.†
„ 10. d. Baron Gem'‡ & D. Harris; wth whom (p.m.) to view ye Prince's new Picture.
„ 15. AD. R. Jer N. &c. &c. Even'. To P. with ye E. of Selkirk.
„ 17. m. To B^{ps} of Linc. and Durham & sealing J. R's Commission. d. At Mr Watkinson's on Farewel to Couss. Rotheryes.
„ 19. m. Baron Gem'. & Mr Chamberlayne.
„ 24. d. B. Gemmingen & Sis Rothery.
„ 30. Prince's Birth Day. 18 B^{ps} d. D. Harris, wth w^{m} (p.m.) with P & her B^{r}.
Nov. 16. m. Mr Grisdale. To P. and B. Gem'.
„ 29. D. Harris wth me to Chelsea; whence to D. of Grafton, L^{d} Ch. Middleton, Ld Lonsdale, Sr Tho. Lowther &c. and frō Leic. House home to d. wth s^{d} D. H. and with him, back again to no purpose. S. B^{r} & Niece N.
Dec. 4. m. To B^{rs} Mr Knaplocks and R. N's. d. D. Harris & Dr Ryves. Ev' with my daughters, waiting on Lady Gem'.

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* Richmond Lodge had been bought by the Prince of Wales in 1718.
† At that time rented by the Prince and Princess of Wales.
‡ Brother to "Pallas": see Oct. 30th.

The year 1723 begins in London.

1723.

Jan. 8. m. wth D. Harris to Leic^{r} House.
Feb. 2. m. Govr Lowther.* Ev' my B^{r} in good humour.
„ 6. Auspicante Deo, Northern journey begun; and happily finish'd, at Carlile, ye 22^{d} met at Hesket by B^{r} C. &c &c.
Mar. 10. Ordination of 2 Pr. and 5 Deacons.† Mr H. Fetherston preach'd.
„ 16. With my B^{r} and son to Penrith.
„ 17. Consecration of ye new Church. p.m. Confirmation.
„ 18. d. and S. at Askham.
„ 28. Waxworks wth ye Dean, AD. and Dr Benson.
„ 29. p.m. With Mr Dean to y^{e} (much neglected) Charity School.
Apr. 6. By Crofton & Torp' to Cockermouth.
„ 7. Confirmation. d. at the Inn.
„ 8. To Whitehaven.
„ 9. Confirmation. d. at Mrs Biglands.
„ 10. Wind contrary. d. at Cl. N's Junr.
„ 11. d. at Cous. M. Gale's.
„ 12. Good Friday. I pr^{d} at ye old Ch.
„ 14. Easter-day. I pr^{d} at ye new Church.
„ 15. d. Mr J. Gales. p.m. Dr Archer.
„ 16. d. Mrs Biglands's. Ev'. On ye Key.
„ 17. d. Mrs Thompson's. p.m. Congées.
„ 18. m. We embark'd on ye Owner's Delight.
„ 19. Frō I. of Man to Loch Learn.
„ 20. Wind contrary we din'd &c at Learn.
„ 21. We sail'd to ye mouth of Loch-Foyle.
„ 22. From Green-Castle to L. Derry where met at ye Key by Mayor &c.
„ 24. Ditto at Sherif Stuart's. m. My daughter Maulev^{r} brought to Bed.
„ 25. Thanksgiving frō ye Plague.
„ 26. p.m. Mr Malev^{r} collated to Maghera.
May 29. p.m. My daughter Maul^{r} church'd.
June 3. My Birth Day. Det Deus Meliores! d. Mr Blackhal.
„ 10. d. Only Mr Percival, my coadjutor.
Nov. 5. d. private. L^{r} from D. Harris.

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* Robert Lowther of Meaburn, Governor of Barbadoes 1716. His son succeeded to the Lowther estates, and was the first Earl of Lonsdale.

† Acting as deputy for Bishop Bradford, who was translated to Rochester in the course of that summer. His successor in the Diocese of Carlisle, John Waugh, was consecrated Oct. 13th, 1723.

Nov.27. Acc^{t} of ye Death of Mrs Gemminghen from D. Harris. She dy'd Nov. 20. Æternũ ploranda.

Dec. 13. Ev'. Last Sheet of my Irish Libr.

The year 1724 contains hardly anything worth printing.

1724.

June 26. Nancy's Amour discuss'd. d. private.

July 16. p.m. Notice of AB. of A's death.

Aug. 14. Mr Bolton introduced to d. A.

„ 19. Second Interview 'twixt J. B. and d. A.

„ 20. Mr Bolton, who (p.m.) had his 3rd Audience.

„ 30. Confirmation ab^{t} 300. d. at ye Chanc^{r}'s.

1725.

Jan. 9. Mr Bolton's Marriage.* d. and S. 18.

„ 15. m. Ald. AY's Enquiry after my Cook's Lewdness. p.m. At Muff.

„ 16. The s^{d} Cook's murder'd child found in her Trunk; and she committed.†

„ 26. p.m. Ja. Nicolson's 2^{d} part of ye 16th.

„ 27. m. Muff. d. Mr Benson and 's wife. S. Capt Mansfield, wth ye Hist. of ye s^{d} Ja. N.

Mar. 10. d. At ye Mayor's wth ye Judge &c.

„ 11. Cicely Jackson condemn'd. d. Judge &c.

„ 13. d. Only Mr Sotherby, Confessor to penitent (D.G.) Cicely J. p.m. Mr Recorder Upton.

„ 17. C. Jackson burn'd. ‡

May 1. Visitted by Mr Webb & 's family. My new Horse shoulder-shot.

June 3. My Birth Day A^{o} Æ^{t} 71. Yet God help!

July 27. m. W. Smith, ye Pilgrim, Try'd for Blasphemy & immediately pillory'd and whip'd. d. private. S. AD. Usher.

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* To the Bishop's daughter Anne. It appears from some notes written in the almanack in which the diary is contained, that she had £1,000 as a portion, that her wedding clothes cost £120, and that her father gave her £20 as pocket money on her wedding day.

† Nichols' *Correspondence of Bishop Nicolson* contains some letters referring to this matter (pp. 595, 6, 8, 601). One of them is from his friend Dr. Downes, Bishop of Meath, expressing sympathy with him in his great sorrow at the sad event which had happened in his household, and in which "one that bore his name, a relation, a clergyman, one whom he had taken under his protection" was concerned: the Editor adds that he did not know what this event was. It is clear from the diary of Jan. 26th that the Bishop's cousin, James Nicolson, had his part in poor Cicely Jackson's sin. (See April 3rd and June 4th, 1721).

‡ By a Statute of 10 Hen. VII. c. 21, in Ireland the crime of murder was made treason, and the judgment on a conviction for treason in both England and Ireland was, in the case of a woman, that she should be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution and there burned alive. This continued to be the law in Ireland until 1796.

July 28. m. Smith burn'd in ye cheek. d. The Judge, Mr Burk, Mr. Colvil, &c.
Aug. 13. Mr Bolton, Badger-Hunting.
Sep. 16. m. Ld Lieut's Goodness to me ab^t^ AB^rick^ of Cashel. d. only Cous. Studholme. L^rs^.
Oct. 1. H. Wisdome's Defeat condemn'd and burn'd. Nem. Contrad. d. private.
„ 31. Nuts and Apples for ye Eve of All Saints, Lambs-Wool &c.
Nov. 28. Mr Hartlip pr^d^. NB. My dangerous Fall. D.G. d. Cous. Studholm and 's wife.

The last four months of this year were spent at Dublin and the diary ends with Dec. 31.

At the end of the volume is written this note :—

The following was written by me Fred. Lindesay the Great great grandson of Archbishop Nicolson this 2^d^ Dec. 1842.

ArchBishop Nicolson was recommended by Primate Hugh Boulter as ArchBishop of Cashel on the 1st of Jany 1726, the day his Predecessor died, as appears by the following extract from Primate Boulter's Letter to the Duke of Newcastle dated Dublin Jan. 1. 1726.

"My Lord, The Archbishop of Cashel died this morning about 5 o'clock, after a few days indisposition from a cold. The person I would recommend to succeed to Cashel, and who is willing to remove, is the Bishop of Derry*; to whose Bishoprick I would recommend the Bishop of Meath † as a successor: and to his Bishoprick the Bishop of Dromore, and to his Dr Cobb, Bishop of Killala &c. &c." Vid. this letter.

"P.S. I have reason to believe the Bishop of Derry will not be fond of removing to Cashel if the Bishop of Meath be not thought of for his Successor, and in that case the Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh is a very proper person to remove to Cashel &c."

See also Primate Boulter's Letter to Lord Carteret (Boulter't state Letters p. 95) dated "Dublin Jan 2. 1726."

On the 9 Feby 1726-7 he was accordingly translated to the Arch Bishoprick of Cashel, but died suddenly on Tuesday the 14th of the same month, vid. Nicolson's Letters by J. Nichols, Brief Memoirs p. xiii, also the following extract from Primate Boulter's Letter to the Duke of Newcastle dated "Dublin Feby 18 1726."

"My Lord, We were yesterday surprized with the melancholy news that the new Archbishop of Cashel on Tuesday morning last died of an apoplexy at the Palace of Londonderry. I am very sorry we have lost so learned and worthy a man" &c.

* Dr. Nicolson. † Dr. Downes.

Again in another Letter of the same date to Lord Carteret he says "we had yesterday the melancholy news that the Archbishop of Cashel died of an apoplexy on Tuesday morning last at Londonderry. I am afraid his Family will lose about £500 by his late translation."

Again in another letter to the Bishop of London he says

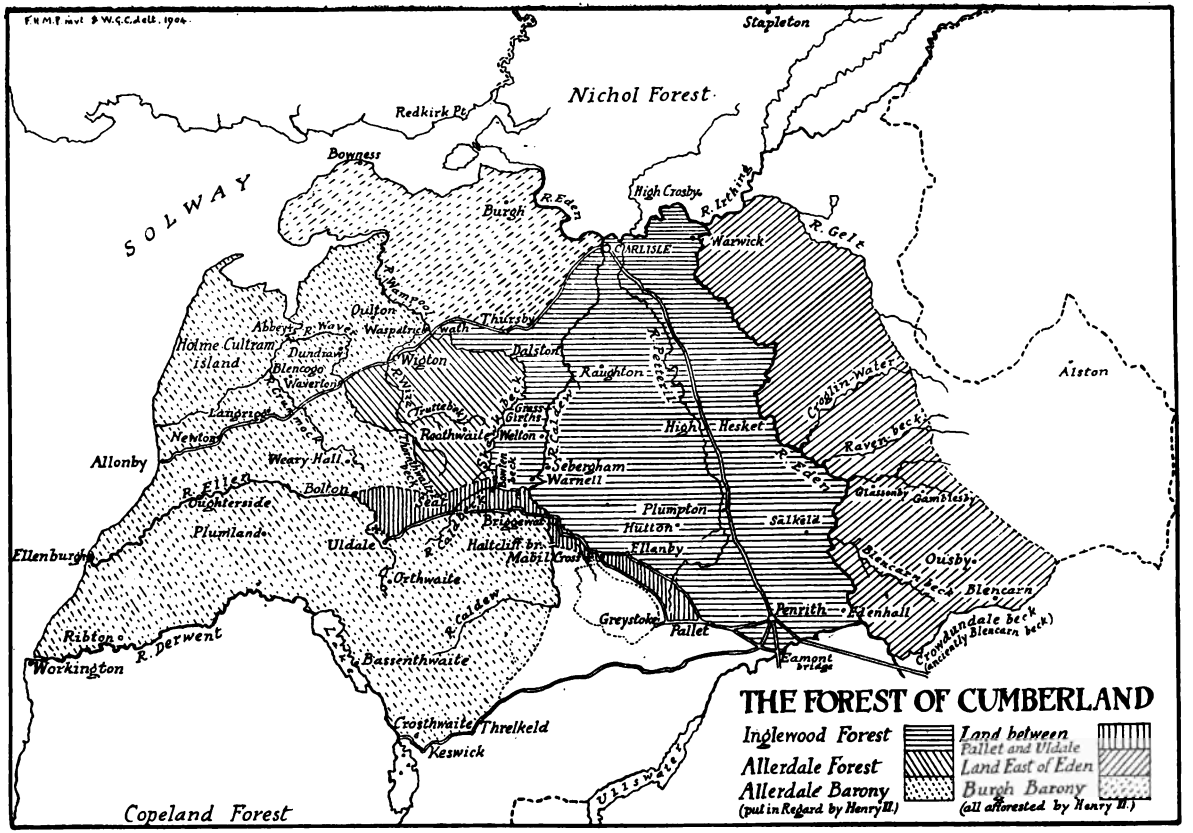
"My Lord, I am sorry that I have occasion to acquaint your Lordship that your very good friend the Archbishop of Cashel was on Tuesday morning last found dead on the floor in his room as London Derry; we have lost a very worthy man & I fear his Family will lose £500 by his late Translation."

In ending this series of papers, and parting with Bishop Nicolson, who has been (as it were) my companion and friend for some years past, I cannot refrain from expressing the opinion that Mr. Lecky has formed too unfavourable a judgment of his character when he speaks of him, in the passage quoted on page 18, as "apparently a hard and selfish man." The Bishop did not indeed rise above the standard of his own time, especially in the exercise of his patronage; like many other men of great ability and energy, he had a strong will, and when it was crossed he was apt to become somewhat overbearing. But his diary—written for his own eye only, and containing little but a bare record of facts—certainly exhibits him as conscious in some ways of his own defects, and possessing both firmness of principle and warmth of affection.

I desire to thank the Rev. W. O'N. Lindesay, of Alla, Claudy, Derry (Colonel Lindesay's executor) for much kind assistance, including the illustration facing p. 10, which is from an excellent isochromatic photograph by J. Robinson & Son, Dublin; and Mrs. Knox, of Cahirleske, Callan, co. Kilkenny (the present possessor of the diaries) for allowing the transcript made by Colonel Lindesay's permission to be verified where it appeared necessary.

It is intended that the full transcript of the diaries, from which extracts have been made in these papers, should be deposited in the Jackson Library at Tullie House.

D


F.H.M.F. inv. & W.G.C. delt. 1904.
THE FOREST OF CUMBERLAND
Inglewood Forest
Allerdale Forest
Allerdale Barony
(put in Regard by Henry II.)
Land between Pallet and Uldale
Land East of Eden
Burgh Barony
(all afforested by Henry II.)
Nichol Forest
Copeland Forest
SOLWAY
Stapleton
Redkirk Pt.
Bowness
Burgh
R. Eden
High Crosby
R. Irthing
R. Gelt
CARLISLE
Warwick
Alston
Crosby Water
Ravenbeck
Glassonby
Gamblesby
Ousby
Blencarn
Blencarn beck
Crowdundale beck (anciently Blencarn beck)
Edenhall
Penrith
Eamont bridge
Pallet
Greystoke
Salkeld
Hutton
Ellanby
Plumpton
High Hesket
Raughton
Dalston
Thursby
Oulton
Wigton
Waverton
Blencogo
Dundraw
Abbeys
R. Wave
Waspatrick
Holme Cultram island
Langrigg
Newton
Allonby
Weary Hall
R. Ellen
Bolton
Oughterside
Plumland
Ellenburgh
Ribton
R. Derwent
Workington
Uldale
Orthwaite
R. Caldew
Bassenthwaite
Crosthwaite
Threlkeld
Keswick
Ullswater
Haltcliff br.
Mabil Crost
Briggmont
Sebergham
Warnell
Welton
Gilsland
Gilt Bridge
Raithwaile
Trutteby
Ireby
Bassenthwaite
Cockermouth
R. Cocker
R. Derwent
R. Ellen
R. Ehen
R. Lyne
R. Esk
R. Liddel
R. Eden
R. Irthing
R. Gelt
R. Caldew
R. Ehen
R. Esk
R. Liddel

ART. II.—*Inglewood Forest.* By F. H. M. PARKER, M.A.

Read at Carlisle, April 19th, 1904.

IT is a curious feature in the history of Cumberland that so little attention has been given to a subject so important as that of the Forest of Inglewood; possessing, moreover, interest from many antiquarian points of view. It is somewhat hard to realise in these days that Inglewood once enjoyed a high celebrity, but this was certainly the case. It was famed as a hunting ground that contained every manner of beast that the hunter could desire, it had a wide repute for its timber, and its area was so great that, if we judge by the extent of land which came within the bounds of the forest in Henry the Second's day, it may reasonably be doubted whether any other forest in England approached it in size. Such an institution deserves a distinguished place in the history of the county because of its ancient fame, and the contents of its records would enrich it in other ways by reason of the amount of details of local, personal, and family history bound up with it.

Nor does its interest end when it has been viewed from the standpoint of the Cumberland antiquary, though this is naturally the first way to look at it. The records of any great forest are of value to the study of the Forest Law, a branch of legal antiquities to which much attention has recently been drawn; and the same may be said of constitutional history—for in this the forests figure prominently, because of the disputes to which they gave rise between the Plantagenet kings and their subjects.

The importance of the forests came about in this way. The Norman kings were passionately fond of hunting, especially William the Conqueror, of whom it is said that he loved the high deer as though he had been their father.

He therefore established a number of forests, and caused them to be governed by the stringent system of rules known as the Forest Law. It was the fact of subjecting land to this law that constituted a forest, not its character; for a forest might include land not overgrown, while on the other hand wooded land did not form a forest unless afforested. Indeed, the word originally had nothing to do with trees. Had a forest connoted nothing more than it does now, there would have been little cause for complaint; unfortunately, the forest law and the officials who saw to its administration constituted a real hardship, though one which was probably exaggerated* by contemporary writers. However, they soon became a recognised grievance, and after the great encroachment of Henry the Second constant efforts were made to restrict the King's powers in respect to the forests. Concessions were from time to time obtained, but the King frequently contrived to reassert his former rights. The complaints arose out of the increased strictness of the forest law, and the enlarged area over which it was administered. For the forests were outside the ordinary law of the land, and subject to the absolute will of the Crown.

The most extraordinary care was exercised in protecting the forest, and was extended to the most minute particulars. It was, of course, illegal to kill a deer, and it follows reasonably that a man with venison in his possession would be punished; but Henry the Second forbade any person to have dogs or a bow and arrows within the forest, unless he had a warrant.

* Thus Walter Mapes wrote in the twelfth century:—"The Conqueror took away much land from God and men, and made a sacrifice of it to the wild beasts and hunting dogs; by which he demolished thirty-six mother churches, and drove away the poor inhabitants belonging to them." This charge, which seems to have gained a wide circulation, does not bear the light of modern criticism—*e.g.*, the careful argument in *A General History of Hampshire*, by Messrs. Woodward, Wilks, and Lockhart, iii., 21. But Camden accepts it as true, and attributes to Divine vengeance for the sacrilege the fact that three of his family, his sons William Rufus and Richard and his grandson Henry, son of Robert, all came by violent deaths within the forest which their father had made at such a cost.

To cut a tree or bush that might afford food or shelter to the deer constituted an offence called *vert*, the word in its primary sense meaning the trees themselves. To fell trees was called *waste*, while to bring land into cultivation, which involved digging out the roots and so preventing any undergrowth springing up, was regarded as a very serious offence if done without licence. Such a clearing was called an *assart*.

Careful precautions were taken to prevent encroachments being made. These might take various forms, not only the obvious one of enclosing a plot of land, but also of erecting a mill, or even merely putting up a hut or shelter. Such encroachments were called *purprestures*. But when it appeared that the creation of an assart or purpresture would not do any harm to the forest, permission to make it would be generally given—of course, for a consideration—the owner being charged a composition and a small fixed rent. One other instance may be given to illustrate the policy adopted with regard to the forests—no tanner or leather bleacher might live within them.

Any innovation of any importance was submitted to a jury to decide whether it would be harmful or a nuisance to the forest, or loss to the King. A good instance of this occurs in the last year of Henry the Third,* when the Dacre of the period wanted to enclose land at Kirkthwaite, bounded by the Lyndbeck and Drybeck and the Roe into which they flow, and running up to the corner of Middlesceugh. Apparently the whole of the forest staff were summoned to decide "Whether it would be a loss to the King, or a nuisance to his forest of Inglewood, if the lord G. de Nevill, justice of that forest, permitted the lord R. de Dacre to inclose the land of Kyrkthwate with a small dyke and low hedge, in such a way that a doe with her fawn could freely go in and out," the extent

* Forest Proceedings, Exch. Q.R., Bundle 1, No. 13.

and value per acre of the land. This they do, and report favourably. It is hardly needful to say that these detailed statements, made on oath by responsible persons on matters of which they had private knowledge, are of the utmost value in reconstructing forest history.

These instances of the working of the forest law will serve to show that a forest existed as a definite institution, governed by its own laws, and could possess a history apart from the estates or families to be found within it.

The Cumbrian forest is referred to in our earliest records as the "Forest of Cumberland," and rather later as "Inglewood Forest." Both these terms are rather vague; and as facts about Inglewood are less open to dispute, it will be simpler to begin with it, and then revert to the older forest.

According to a list given by Spelman of the forests existing in England—sixty-eight in all—there were three in Cumberland, and their names were Copeland, Inglewood, and Westward, the latter being more generally known by the title of Allerdale Forest. Properly, Inglewood denoted the forest between Eden and Shawk, the beck forming the head of the Wampool; but it was afterwards used in a wider sense, the other forests being treated as bailiwicks within it. In this extended sense, the one in which the name is far the more often used, it probably conveyed exactly the same idea as the Forest of Cumberland did, neither meaning a specific tract of country, but the whole of the royal forest land in the county, whatever area that included at the time. Copeland Forest, separate from the rest above Calder Bridge, drops out of the story; but its former existence is important from the fact that in proceedings relating to Inglewood there were three times the number of officers usually found in a forest, showing that the three bailiwicks were still represented—at least in theory.

Some light is thrown on the composition of the forest by two entries in the Pipe Rolls for the third and fourth

years of the reign of Richard the First, in which Gilbert Pipard, accounting for an annual rent of ten marks paid by the Warden of the Forest, pays seven, and also three separately for the Forest of Allerdale. This would seem to indicate the proportionate values of Inglewood and Allerdale; and, what is more noteworthy, suggests that the Forest of Copeland was left out of the calculation. However this may be, the idea that Inglewood had a threefold character existed long afterwards. Thus, in an inquisition already referred to, twelve verderers were present—four being the usual number in a forest—and thirty-six regarders. In the Pleas of the Forest, held in the thirteenth year of Edward the First, twelve regarders account for the Forest of Inglewood between Eden and Caldew,* and twelve for Allerdale between Alne (Ellen) and Shawk. There is no account for Copeland, and the fact that twelve more regarders are required to make up the thirty-six represents nearly the whole evidence we have that Copeland did exist as a forest.

The case of Inglewood and Allerdale is very different. Numerous records relating to them are to be found, one of which is of special use for introducing the history of these two forests, and it consists of a survey of the boundaries of both of them.

This perambulation was made in the twenty-eighth year of Edward the First.† These two definite statements may be taken as a starting point for our forest history.

Beginning at the Bridge over Caldewe outside the City of Carlisle along the great metalled way to Thuresby the forest is on the south; and from Thuresby by (the same way through) the middle of the town of Thuresby to Waspatrik wath over the water of Wathenpole, and so from Waspatrik wath up stream along the water of Wathenpole to the place where Schauk falls into Wathenpole; and so from

* Forest Proceedings, Exch. T.R., 5. A great roll of some forty sheets written on both sides, referred to elsewhere. No return is made of the land between Shawk and Caldew, generally styled the Barony of Dalston, as it had been previously granted to the Bishopric of Carlisle in 1228.

† Forest Proceedings, Ancient; Chancery, 30.

that place up stream to the head of Schauk, (and so) from the head of Schauk rising straight to the head of Boulandbeck, and so descending from that place to the water of Caldebeck; (and so by the water) to the place where Caldebeck falls into Caldewe, and so up stream to the place where Briggwat . . . (several words follow too faded for accurate transcription) . . . to Stainwath below the Castle of Soureby; and so by the metalled way to Mabilcross; and so ascending to the hill of Kenwatlan and Dikenwatlan, descending by the said road through of the town of Alaynby . . . by the same way to Palet; and so descending to the Bridge of Amod; . . . to Edene, and so down stream by the water of Edene to the place where Caldewe (falls into Edene), and so to the aforesaid bridge over Caldewe outside the gate of the City.

As might be expected, during the six hundred years since this survey was made, many of the landmarks have altered their names in such a manner as to render it rather puzzling to the reader of the present day. The following modernised version will no doubt be more intelligible :—

The northern boundary from Caldew Bridge was the road through Thursby till it reached the Wampool, whence it runs up that river and the Shawk Beck, which forms its head. From the source of the Shawk, about a mile and a half north of Caldbeck, the boundary runs east to the head of Bouland (now Bowten) Beck. This stream, which is not always to be found on small maps, runs down to Caldbeck, and joins the river there. Thence down the Caldbeck till it joins the Caldew, and up the Caldew to "Briggwat." Stainwat is the crossing of the Gilcambon Beck at Castle Sowerby; Mabel Cross is a point at the north of Greystoke Park. It is given in the six-inch Ordnance Maps. Alaynby is Ellanby; Palet, Pallet Hill on the Greystoke Road; thence to Eamont Bridge. So down the Eamont, passing below the red sandstone cliffs of Bramwra facing St. Ninian's Church to the Eden, and down the river to the place where the Caldew joins it, and so up to Caldew Bridge.

A rough idea of the shape and size of Inglewood may be obtained marking Crofton, Brougham, Edenhall, and

Warwick Hall on the map, and drawing straight lines from one to the other. As for Warwick Hall, the wonderful trees in the grounds there are locally reputed to be relics of the forest in its best days. It is said that here, too, Geltsdale Forest, Nichol Forest, and Inglewood met at the well-known rock in the Eden just below the bridge.

Whellan prints a version of this on page 586 of his *Cumberland and Westmorland*, but gives Rowland for Bouland, and Gyrgwath for Briggwat. Both of these variants seem to be slips. If it is obtained from the manuscript here given, such a mistake may be easily accounted for by the fading of the ink.

The boundaries of Allerdale are given in the same record. The forest abuts on Inglewood on the east, thus:—

From Waspatrik wath to the place where Schauk falls into Wathenpol, and so from that place to the head of Schauk, and from that place to Boulandbecheued, and from that place to Randasset; thence to the head of Thornewaytbeck, and from that place to the place where Thornthweytbeck falls into the Wavre; and from that place down to the highway between the land of the King and the land of Wavreton, and so between the King's land and the land of Wygeton; and so from the land of Wygeton to Truttebeck, and from Truttebeck into Wathenpol, and so along the Wathenpol up stream to Waspatrik wath.

Allerdale Forest, therefore, followed the Wampool from the Wigton Road, and so up to the source of the Shawk, and then to the head of Bowten Beck. Randasset or Randulvesat does not appear to be identified, unless it is Seat, an eminence at the head of Thornthwaite Beck. We are elsewhere told that it was reached by an ascent from the source of Bowten Beck. Then to Thornthwaite Beck, down past Thornthwaite to the Waver, leaving it at Waverton and following the road towards Wigton.

The only difficulty is, what is the Troutbeck? It must have been a river of some importance in olden days, for it

is mentioned in the Gospatric charter. Here there is something by which we can localise it. It is reached on approaching Wigton; it joins the Wampool below Waspatrick Wath.

The only stream that fulfils these conditions is the Wisa, and we shall probably be right in identifying it with the Troutbeck. This theory makes Wigton lie within the bounds of the forest, and this it is known to have done; for on one occasion Robert de Mulcastre and Thomas de Newton got into trouble for chasing a hind while on their way to it from Oulton.

In addition to these forests there was a considerable amount of land subject to the forest law, technically described as being "within the metes of the forest" instead of forming part of the "covert." Thus Allerdale Forest reached to the Waver only, but the metes or bounds of the forest extended to the Ellen.

The amount of land subject to the forest laws varied from time to time, not only in Cumberland, but all over the country. Henry the First added to the forests he found existing at his accession. Stephen gave up some of them. Under Henry the Second the forest organisation was perfected, the Assize of Woodstock (otherwise called the Assize of the Forest) establishing vigorous rules for their management. He also, as will be seen presently, made vast additions in Cumberland. Under John the oppression was so great that several articles relating to forest reform had to be inserted in Magna Carta, one of them providing that all forests afforested by John himself should be given up.

These concessions were confirmed by the Forest Charter of Henry the Third in 1217, and it is probable that it was in connection with it that the following report* was drawn up. It may be taken as the foundation of our forest history.

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* Forest Proceedings, Ancient; Chancery, 17.

This is the report of twenty-four Knights of Cumberland chosen and sworn before J. de Marshall, P. de Ulecotes, A. de Newmarket, Thomas de Multon and Helyas Brit, Clerk, the King's justices for making inquisition.

The said Knights say that no forest was afforested by King John, the King's father, nor was subjected to the regard of woods put in defense.* They say that the knights and free tenants who had woods within the bounds of the forest were accustomed to present their foresters before the King's chief forester, and afterwards to take all they needed in their own woods, to give or to sell it without restriction; and if there was any restriction afterwards in these woods, the forester of the wood would answer before the justices of the forest. But King John, the father of the King, put them in defense, and directed that no one should take anything in his own wood, except under supervision of the King's forester.

Also they say that R. de Vetripont, Sheriff of Cumberland, holds the entire forest of Cumberland. Also that the forest in fee (holds the post of subordinate to R.†) de Vetripont, by the hereditary right of his wife, and (so does) the serjeant of Hotun, whose duty is to keep the King's park at Plumton. But they answer to R. de Vetripont as warden of the forest.

Also the King, grandfather of the King, afforested at his will, through Alan de Nevill, then his forester, all the land between the water of Gelt and Bocblincarn in length, and from the water of Heden to Crosstirn . . .

. . . Henry the King, grandfather of the King, afforested through Alan de Nevill, then his forester, all the land between these places and boundaries written below, namely, from the place called Palet to the mill at . . . . . to the bridge at Alteclo (Haltcliff Bridge), and so by the old King's road to the water of Alne by the Church at Ulvedale (Uldale); and from this road to these bounds, namely, from the place aforesaid called Palet to Bl(encow) . . . . . through the middle of the town of Alaynby, and so by the road to Mabillecros near Saurebi and so below the old castle at Saurebi to Briggewat over the water at Caldeu; and so down the water of Caldeu (to the place where the Caldbec) falls into Caldeu, and so ascending by the

* Posita in Reguardo de boscis positis in defensum—a passage which defies translation into simple English. Defense usually means prohibition of hunting, or of the pasturing of cattle or sheep—cf. French *Bois en défens*. Here it appears only to mean "legal restriction," namely, that of the Regard, the jurisdiction which took cognizance of waste, &c. That was one branch of the forest law. The knights appear to mean that John did not subject wholly or partially to forest law any land not previously afforested.

† The words in brackets are a conjecture, based on other evidence, to fill a gap caused by a tear in the MS.

water of Caldbec to the place where the stream called Bounelandesike falls into the same water of Caldebec; and so up the stream called Bounelandesike to the moss above [? Whi]tewra, and so ascending to Randuluesat, and from that place to Greneset, and from that place to Grenesat, thence to Glassauneset, and thence to the old enclosure at Botheltun (Bolton), and so, descending by the same enclosure to the water of Alne.

Also they say that King Henry, the King's grandfather, enclosed at his will land within these bounds, namely, from the place called Waspatricwath over the water of Wathelpol, and so by the old road to Thoresby to the bridge over Calde before Carlisle gate; and so down stream to the water of Hedene, and so descending by the water of Hedene to the Sea, and so the place where the Wathelpol falls into the Sea. So ascending by the water of Wathelpol to the place called Waspatricwath.

King Henry, the King's grandfather, afforested these lands for this reason: his forester at that time, by name Ralph Engane, had them; he had that land in right of the daughter of Robert de Trivers whom he married; and all that land was outside the forest; and the said Ralph was forester, and his barony was within these limits. He directed that none of his men should take hart or hind within these limits. Then King Henry, the King's grandfather, came and found the land so kept, and afforested all that land at his will through A. de Nevill.

Moreover they say that the King has in the forest of Auredale hart and hind, the boar and the roe. It was never in regard before the time of the King, the King's grandfather. Also they say that he placed the Barony of Auredal in regard at his own will, by means of Alan de Nevill, then the king's forester, and he put it in escape* and amercement. And Alan de Nevill, then the King's forester, caused dogs to be lawed† throughout the whole forest of Cumberland, and prohibited the Knights and free tenants from having dogs or greyhounds on their lands as they used to have, to take hares and foxes, nor bows and arrows as they used to have.

Moreover in the time of King Henry, grandfather of the King, at his will and by means of Alan de Neville they appointed more foresters than they used to have at the earlier coronation of King Henry, grandfather of our King. For at the time of the earlier coronation of King Henry, grandfather of the King, there were but

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* Escape was the technical name for a fine imposed when beasts escaped into forbidden enclosures. The barony was made liable to this and amercements, fines for various offences.

† Lawing a dog (expeditatio) was to cut his claws, or otherwise his paw, so as to make him less able to poach.

six foresters throughout the whole forest, namely, two in fee, and four at the choice of him who had custody of the forest.

It is unnecessary to dwell at length on the importance of this information. The details of the vast additions made by Henry the Second throw quite a new light on the history of the Cumbrian forest; while the fact that he had the power to make them is a point of constitutional history worthy of notice, as an illustration of the enormous arbitrary power he wielded.

King Henry, then, extended the forest on every side. On the south he afforested a strip of land reaching from Pallet Hill, near Penrith, through Haltcliff to the Ellen at Uldale; on the west he partially afforested the great barony of Allerdale, which reached from the Derwent to the Wampool, and from the sea to the Caldew and the Shawk. On the north he added the barony of Burgh, the area between the Eden and the Wampool; and east of the Eden a tract some twenty miles in length, from the Gelt to the border of Westmorland. It should be explained that in the early days Blencarn Beck (Bocblincarn) did not mean the stream to which the name is now applied; it meant the Crowdundale. So that in Henry the Second's day the forest law was in force from the spurs of Crossfell to the sea, and from Bowness-on-Solway to Crosthwaite—about forty miles east and west, and twenty-five north and south.

In early times the manors of Stanwix and Linstock are said to have been in the forest; while at the end of Edward the First's reign an inquisition was held in which Stapleton is described as "in the forest of Inglewood." How this can be so is difficult to say. These words may have been inserted in error; but, right or wrong, there it stands.

The beasts to which the King was entitled in the forest of Allerdale were the hart and hind, the roe and the wild boar. Generally the beasts of the forest to which the King had the exclusive right comprised the hart (cervus) and hind (bissa or cerva), the red deer; the buck and doe

(damus and dama), the fallow deer; the roe (capriolus or cheverillus, a re-latinised form of the French chevreuil), the wild boar (aper), and wild sow (laia). Some interest attaches to the mention of the roe, from the point of view of forest law, as doubts have arisen as to whether it should be included among the beasts so preserved. It seems, however, that the evidence on the subject, though scanty, is conclusive that it was specially preserved; while the paucity of information on the subject indicates that it was rarely met with, especially in the forests north of the Trent. The roe is again expressly mentioned in the inquisition as to the privileges of the Warden of the Forest, to be given presently; and in the Pleas of the Forest, held in 13 Edward I., there is more than one conviction for killing a roe.

It may be of service to readers who desire to learn something of forest law and antiquities, apart from the history of any particular forest, to draw attention to the valuable introduction by Mr. G. J. Turner, of Lincoln's Inn, to the *Select Pleas of the Forest*, which he edited for the Selden Society. It gives an exhaustive and at the same time clear account of this intricate and little-known subject, to which the present writer is indebted, not only for information, but for a number of useful suggestions of which it is not possible to give more than a general acknowledgment.*

The care and management of the forest was entrusted to a numerous body of officials of various grades, to whom a considerable amount of personal interest attaches. Among their ranks are to be found men of high local, sometimes even of national importance, and most of the old Cumberland names are enrolled among them. There were seven chief offices to be filled, as follows:—

The Justice of the Forest was the most important, but he has not the same interest as the others, as his province

* An interesting account of the forest laws, by our member Mr. H. G. Pearson, was published in vol. xvi. of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club Report.

included all the forests north of the Trent, and he was therefore not necessarily a local man. It will be sufficient to say that he was usually a man of eminent political standing; that upon him fell the duty of releasing on bail persons arrested for offences in the forest—a considerable task, since only he or the King himself could release a prisoner taken for killing deer, or having venison in his possession. He also carried on the executive work relating to the forest, and also carried on the judicial work, though this seems to have been a less exacting duty.

The Warden of the Forest was the chief officer. In some forests a warden was appointed by letters patent, in others he held it as a hereditary post. The latter was the case in Cumberland, the office devolving along the same line as did the barony of Burgh; the families which held it being those of De Trivers, Engaine, Morvill, whose heiress married Richard de Lucy and afterwards Thomas de Multon, and was succeeded by her son Thomas de Multon, afterwards of Gilsland; the heiress of the Multons finally bringing it to the Dacres. Occasionally the office was given to outsiders, as for instance to William Stapleton of Edenhall, about 1362.

It may save misunderstandings to mention here that the warden is often referred to by misleading titles, such as "chief forester," which suggests a different post, or "forester in fee," an expression which is apt to be puzzling, as it is used specifically to denote another office, that of a hereditary forester, which is something quite different from a hereditary warden.

Where the warden did hold by inheritance, he possessed a number of privileges in the forest. What these were we shall see presently.

The Foresters.—These occupied a position somewhat similar to that of a modern gamekeeper. They were appointed by the warden, and depended on him for salary. Sometimes, however, the warden did not pay them at all, but exacted money from them for the privilege of holding

office, with a result that the number of foresters increased unduly. There was a judicial power, however, of limiting the number. Possibly this practice accounts for the addition to the foresters complained of in the inquisition. Towards the latter part of Henry the Third's reign Thomas de Multon, the then warden, appears to have a customary right to unlimited authority as to the appointment and removal of his foresters.

The Woodwards.—These were private foresters. Within the forest there were a number of woods, the property of private owners, who were bound to do nothing which would prevent the woods affording shelter for the deer, as by making assarts. To secure that all should be done according to law, each owner was compelled to keep a woodward, who acted as forester to the owner of the wood, but also swore fealty to the King, his vert and venison.

If the woodward was guilty of any serious breach of duty, the wood over which he was supposed to keep guard was liable to be seized into the King's hands. Thus on one occasion Gilbert de Redesdale, the woodward of Sowerby, and Robert de Sebergham were convicted of poaching, and because Gilbert was woodward at the time when he committed the offence the wood was seized. The effect of such a confiscation seems to have been merely that the King had the opportunity of exacting a composition from the owner as the price of his reinstatement.

The conduct and associates of the woodwards of Sowerby certainly leave something to be desired. Gilbert's companion could not appear at the same time as himself, because he had been beheaded in the meantime; and another of them, John de Werdhall, was convicted of joining in a poaching affair and shooting a stag with two arrows, an offence in itself, as woodwards were expressly forbidden to carry bows and arrows. This happened on the first of November, and the other incident as recently as the twenty-first of September in the same year. And John de Werdhall did not appear, and evidence was given

that he was a fugitive because he had slain one John, the son of Hamund.

Foresters in Fee.—This phrase, says Mr. Turner, connotes nothing more than a hereditary forester. The term was usually applied to such a forester holding hereditarily, but subordinate to a warden; and instances the case of the Forest of Dean, where there were eight or nine, all having separate bailiwicks, and all subordinate to the Warden of St. Briavels, who was Warden of the Forest.

An exact analogy is found in Cumberland, there being, as already mentioned, two foresters in fee, the offices being usually attached to the Huttons of Hutton, and a branch of the Boyvill family. Guido (Guy) Boyvill, a member of the baronial house of Levington, is said to have acquired the post by right of his wife, the heiress of the Thursby family. What appears to be a correct account of their connection with the forest is given by John Denton, who says:—

> This Guido has issue William and he John. They two were both Knights and all foresters in Allerdale from Shawk to Eln, which was the Westward of the Forest of Englewood which office descended unto them from Herbert de Thuresby first Lord of Thuresby, by the gift of Alan first Lord of Allerdale the son of Waldeof.

The Huttons were in charge of the great enclosure known as Plumpton Hay, which was subject to regulations somewhat different from those applying to the surrounding portions of the forest. The holder of the post in the inquisition on the Forest of Cumberland already given is referred to as Serviens de Hotun, and there is some reason to suppose that the duties performed were more in the nature of the incidents of tenure by serjeanty than those of a forester in fee; but the latter title is constantly applied to the holder of the post.

Shortly after the accession of Henry the Third, Thomas de Hoton, son and heir of Adam, conveyed certain lands in Hutton to Alan de Capella. The land was then seized

by the King, on the ground that the land was serjeanty of the King's forest, and that his licence should have been obtained before the transfer. However, Alan was presently established in his new acquisition, and on the death of Thomas de Hoton it is reported that he and Alexander de Capella held land in Hutton by the service of keeping watch over Plumpton Hay.

The Verderers.—The principal duty of these officers was that of attending the County Courts, and they were in direct relation with the Crown. There were four to a forest, selected from the knights or considerable landowners—"esquires or at least gentlemen of good fame, and learning in the forest law." Such men as John de Crokedayk, who married the heiress of the barony of Wigton, filled the office, and members of the Warwick, Boyvill, and Hutton families.

The Regarders took their name from their duty of making the Regard, a survey made every three years by twelve knights. They were then to report on a number of matters, principally assarts, purprestures, and waste; and if necessary, as to the herbage, eyries of falcons and hawks, harbours from which timber could be exported, honey found in the forest, and the persons who possessed greyhounds in the forest.

Certain land was held at Raughton by a family who bore the then local name of Racton by the service of keeping the eyries of hawks in the forest of Inglewood. This practically constituted the De Ractons hereditary regarders, but their tenure seems to have been that of serjeanty, and the office of hereditary regarder does not appear to have been recognised in forest law.

It has already been mentioned that a hereditary warden possessed certain privileges in the forest. As regards Inglewood we are particularly fortunate, as we have the finding of a jury summoned for the special purpose of ascertaining what these rights were. The importance attached to the matter may be judged from the fact that

the inquisition was presided over by the Sheriffs of Cumberland and Lancashire, as well as William de Dacre. The date is not given, but it was probably held in the thirty-sixth year of Henry the Third's reign, as in the Pipe Rolls for that year Thomas de Multon paid a composition for trespasses of the forest and to have, among other things, the same privileges as his ancesters had, except plea of vert. Internal evidence also supports this date, as the members of the jury had disappeared when other important inquisitions were held at the close of this reign.

The record is as follows:—*

An inquisition before the Sheriff of Cumberland, the Sheriff of Lancashire, and William de Dacre, in the presence of the Verderers and Foresters of the Forest of Carlisle, to ascertain what privileges Thomas de Multon and his predecessors in the office of Forester in Fee of that forest made use of during their terms of office, and with what liberties and laws they have hitherto been in seisin by reason of their custody of that bailiwick, made by the following: John de Mora, William de Wardwyk, Robert de Wyterig, John de Furmerie, Ivo de Racton, Rayner de Racton, Alexander de Ribeton, Alan de Thorisby, Henry de Trellekeld, Robert de Waverton, John de Huatradsat, Alexander de Neuton, Geoffry de Seburgham, Patrick de Ulvisby, Hugh de Langrig, Adam de Plumland, Bricius de Penred, and Simon de Wyrihal.

Who say on their oath that Thomas de Multon is forester in fee of the whole of the King's forest of Inglewood, and should pay for his bailiwick ten marks of silver; and they say that he is entitled to payment for all escaped animals except swine; that he is entitled to payment for escaped swine taken at any period of the year in Plumpton Hay; and to payment for escaped swine in the forest during the close season, that is, a fortnight before and a fortnight after the feast of St. John Baptist.

And they say that he ought to have all dead wood throughout the forest, standing or fallen; dry wood, and all timber not producing fruit; the stump, loppings, and bark of timber, and the following wood:—alder, birch, willow, and all windfallen trees, branches, and all the remainder of oaks granted by the King's mandate, except in Plumpton Hay, because he will receive nothing there.

* Inquis. Post Mortem, Henry III., bundle of uncertain date, No. 235.

And they say that if anyone unlawfully fells an oak, the said Thomas is to attach his person according to the forest law, in order that he may come before the Justices of the Forest, and the King will have the attachment and amercement, but Thomas the felled oak.

And they say that the said Thomas has the right to hunt in the forest the hare, the fox, the wild cat, the wolf, the badger, the otter, the marten, and the squirrel, and all other woodland beasts except hart and hind, buck and doe, the roe, the wild boar and wild sow, and hawks, which are the King's. Also they say that the said Thomas has a right to falcons, sparrow hawks, muskets, and all other eyries except hawks, which are reserved for the King.

And they say that the said Thomas ought to have all honey with its wax throughout the whole of the King's demesne wood.

And they say that the predecessors of the said Thomas held the forest road, so that no one should go outside the King's highway except by licence of the forester, but that Thomas has not done so during his term of office.

And they say that he is entitled to the old pannage of swine in the King's demesne wood from St. Martin's day in winter to the feast of St. Andrew in the same year.

And they say that he has the right of fishing throughout the whole of the King's forest in all waters and woods in the said forest, and so did his predecessors.

Further they say that Thomas will not allow the Sheriff, or others as deputies, to come into the King's forest with bows and arrows, except only for distraining the King's pence, and this under supervision of the foresters.

And they say that the said Thomas is entitled to the lawing of dogs, and where he finds a dog not lawed in the forest he will have for each dog three shillings and no more. Also that the predecessors of Thomas and Thomas himself made a practice of appointing whomsoever they wished as foresters, and removing them at their will, and appointing whom they pleased, in order that they might be assiduous in service to Thomas and the steward of the forest.

And they say that the said Thomas ought to hold the King's pleas of attachment for the said forest, and petty pleas which concern him; and that this should take place on the day after the Court at Carlisle, and so from Court to Court. Also that the foresters in fee ought to answer to Thomas or his steward as to all the aforesaid matters which concern them, and that no woodward is to carry bow and arrows in the said forest; but that the woodwards, as a forester in fee, are to swear an oath of fealty.

Also they say that Thomas and his predecessors have been accustomed to make charcoal of the loppings and other timber which belong to him by reason of this bailiwick, wherever they wished in the said forest. Also they say that he is entitled to free right of way for carrying all this wherever he wishes in the forest.

It may be mentioned in passing that this list of privileges is an unusually long one. The useful right to burn charcoal is an exceptional one; perhaps it was granted owing to the great wealth of timber to be found in the Cumbrian forest.

The names of the jury deserve a passing notice. All but two, John de More and John de Furmery, bear the names of places. The former figures rather prominently in local records, and was probably more important as a politician than a landowner. As for the rest, John de Furmery lived at High Crosby, De Wardwyk at Warwick; and if we may depend on the names they bear, one man came from Thursby (Thorisby), Waverton, Langrigg, Newton, Oughterside (Huatradsat), Ribton, Threlkeld, Penrith, Ousby (Ulvisby), the places lying in a rough circle; and in a forked line across it, from Plumbland, Weary Hall (Wyrihal), Sebergham, Raughton, and Whitrigg, the latter probably in Plumpton.

It would not be safe to conjecture from these names how far the forest extended at the time, though it is noticeable that some of these places lie far out near the coast. A more trustworthy theory would be that the choice fell on these families because of special standing or respectability, for the families of Oughterside,* Langrigg, Ribton, and Plumbland are represented in the Pleas of the Forest held about thirty-three years later.

The reason for imposing a fine when swine had escaped into the forest during the fortnights before and after St.

* Whellan, in describing Oughterside, mentions the finding at Aspatria Church of a stone coffin of which the slab bore the legend "Hic Jacet Bartholomeus de Uchtersat." Now this was the name of one of the Regarders in these Pleas (13 Edward I.). The supposed date makes it probable that he was the forgotten occupant of the old tomb.

John Baptist day was to protect the deer during fawning time. The right of pannage consisted of turning in swine to feed; the sums of money derived from this source amounted to a considerable sum.

In case of timber being cut, it will be observed that the bark, stump, small branches, &c., became the perquisite of the warden. The same was the case where the King gave oaks from the forest by his writ; the gift only conferred the timber they contained (mayremium) not the whole tree.

Such grants are frequently met with in the history of the forests, especially that of Inglewood, for it appears to have been famous all over the kingdom for its inexhaustible wealth of oak timber. On one occasion Inglewood timber was sent as far afield as Ely, as a gift to the bishop for building the tower of his church. These gifts seem to have been generally made with a view of assisting religious institutions, as in the case of Hugh de Bello Loco, Bishop of Carlisle, who was granted fifty oaks for rebuilding his houses, the writ carefully adding that the trees were to be selected at considerable distances apart, so as to do the less harm to the forest.

Certain rights of cutting timber for building and fencing were enjoyed by the inhabitants of the manors of Penrith, Salkeld, and Langwathby; the Close Rolls of 1226 contain a mandate to Thomas de Multon to permit them to do so, as they were accustomed to do in the reign of King John.

It is certain that as the result of the proceedings at the beginning of the Henry the Third's reign the area of the forest was considerably reduced; and although we are not told distinctly to what extent this was the case, it is probable that all the additions made by Henry the Second were given up.

In the latter half of the reign of Edward the First two rather exceptional instances occur of the use of the royal authority for the protection of Allerdale Forest. In both

of these steps are taken to deal with land at some distance beyond the natural limits of Allerdale, but the King's object seems to have been to avoid a serious prospect of injury to his interests, and not that of further annexation. In the one case a number of buildings and settlements had come into existence, and were causing great and increasing harm to the forest; in the other, the abbot and monks of the abbey of Holme Cultram had petitioned that the island of Holme Cultram, on which their abbey was founded, should be disafforested. In each case an inquisition was held, and the position of affairs carefully gone into. The following is the return by the jury:—*

An inquisition held at Rose (apud La Rose) in the County of Cumberland the 4th of May in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Edward, before Robert de Clifford, the King's justice of the forests beyond Trent, by the oaths of Richard le Brun, William de Mulcastre, Alexander de Bastenthwait, Knights; Thomas de Hoton, John de Berewys, Richard de Quinfeld, Henry de Hoton, Roger Bare, Foresters; Robert de Quinberg, Henry de Hoton, Richard de Boyvill, Thomas de Louthre, Adam de Agliounby, and Adam de Carleton.

Who say on their oath that the King can enclose between the waters of Caldeu and Allne, that is, of the land of Welleton, which contains 180 acres, of which 50 are worth two shillings and six pence a year, and 130 worth 8d. a year; of Warnhill 142 acres, of which 76 are worth 2s., and 66, 8d. a year; of Rethwaites with the side of Heselspring, 107 acres, each worth 12d.; of Bastanthwaite 80 acres, each worth 18d.; of Quynnythwaite, 40 acres, each worth, 4d., of Palmcastre, 150, and of Morton, 54, each worth 2s.; of Crossethwait, 18 acres, each worth 12d.; and of Overthwaite, 72 acres, of which thirty-six are worth 2s., and thirty-six 12d.; and nine acres within the land of Blakehalethwait, each worth 2s. a year.

And they say that the parson of the Church at Caldebeck holds the close at Caldebeck, land formerly enclosed, and pays the King annually 6s. And that John de Crokedyk holds the land of Blackethwait, and pays annually 15s., and that John de Moubray holds the land of Clenyhow, and pays annually 13s. 4d., that John de Boyvill, John de Thoresby and Hugh de Crofton hold Troutebeckmire, and pay annually 20s., and that Thomas de Mulcastre and Thomas de

* Inquis. Post Mortem, 33 Edward I., No. 247.

Jouneby hold the close of Kirkthwait and Lynethwait, and pay annually 60s., that the Prior of Carlisle and John de Crokedik hold the close between the park of the Bishop of Carlisle, and the close of Langholme, and pay annually 2s., and that Alan de Kirkeby holds the close which is called le Gressegarth, and pays annually 15d., all being lands formerly enclosed.

And they say that all these lands and closes, anciently enclosed, and those named above to be newly enclosed, are and will be a nuisance to the King's forest in this respect, that they lose him his venison throughout a tract three leagues in length, and three leagues in breadth, within the limits of the forest, and all forfeiture of venison and agistment of herbage, which is worth 66s. 8d. a year by estimate, and pannage when it occurs, which is worth by estimate 40s. a year.

Further they say that by reason of the buildings and closes in these lands, already made, and to be made, the King's covert is and will be much wasted.

And they say that the said closes in these lands are a nuisance to the King's free chace and warren in this respect, that the King will lose his venison in a tract six leagues in length, and ten in breadth, and forfeiture of venison in these chases and warrens, and because the King will lose the herbage, which is worth £12 a year. And that the King will lose the pannage when it occurs, which is valued at 40s.

Also they say that by means of the buildings and closes made and to be made, the King's covert in the said warren and chace will be wasted. In witness whereof the said Jurors have set their seals to this inquisition.

The remaining inquisition gives a curious little picture of the state of the north-west of Cumberland in the thirteenth century. The island of Holme Cultram, which the monks wished to have disafforested, was the tract of land enclosed by the Crummock, Holme Dub, and Black Dub. It was two leagues from the forest itself, but the deer used to frequent it for the sake of browsing, making their way down along two thickly wooded marshes, evidently formed by the Crummock and the Waver, which joined at the island.

The case for the Crown was that on reaching the island the deer found themselves on a stretch of land many miles in extent, from which there was only one narrow exit, the

way they had come; and that, if the forest law was repealed as regards the island, the monks, or other occupants of the island, would have an easy task to cut them off and kill them at leisure.

This was all the more probable, as everybody on the island was in one way or another a dependent of the abbey; so the report strongly recommends that things remain as they are.

It is easy to make jokes about jolly friars and venison pasties, but here the position of the monks was a very hard one. The deer must have been continually making their way past the abbey to wander about the island, and probably did a good deal of harm. The more that went, the greater the nuisance; and it was simply because they did go in numbers that the island was afforested, and so the monks could not lawfully resort to measures of retaliation. The deer were trespassers at a considerable distance from their proper haunts, and may have been specially attracted to the abbey lands because they were carefully farmed; so that there is a good deal to be said for the monks' side of the case after the jury had recorded their opinions as to the loss the King would suffer if the request was granted.

The following appears to be the most important part of the document.* The jury consisted of John de Hodelston, Robert de Curwen, Robert de Haverington, John de la Ferte, Hugh de Milton de Leysingby, Thomas de Neuton, William de Boyvill, Hugh de Coulton de Hoff, John de Terriby, knights; William de Bampton, Adam de Hoton, John de Staffele, John de Croglyn, Robert de Quitryng, Richard de Boyvill, John de Crokedayk, Thomas de Ribeton, verderers; Alan de Kirkeby, Thomas de Hotone de Quiteburgh, John de Racton, Richard de Racton, foresters; Robert de Joneby, Robert de Karleton, Alan de Ireby, and Henry Dugedenell de Seburgham, who

* Inquis. Post Mortem, 20 Edward I., 123.

having first viewed the island were sworn and said on their oath that

If the island were disafforested it would be a loss to the King, and a nuisance to the forest of Inglewode, by causing destruction and damage to the deer in many ways. For there are two marshes thick with alders which join at the said island, namely, Brimselmire and Swalebymire, and these marshes extend from the island right up to the great covert of the forest, so that hinds and other of the King's deer can come and go under the covert and the main cover of the forest as far as the island, and back again; and there is another marsh there called Ellerby. So that the King's deer commonly frequent and go about in these marshes, especially about mowing-time, and all the deer which frequent those marshes go upon the island to the grass and wood contained within Holme Cultram, namely Leaholme, Bronewra, Aykesom, Kyngesetemire. And if the said island were deafforested, these deer would be hunted and taken with nets and hounds whenever they came upon the island; so that the King's venison which went about in those marshes would be destroyed, especially the great stags. And if those marshes were destroyed, the whole forest of Allerdale would be destroyed in consequence. Moreover, they say that the whole island is the separate land of the abbot and convent, so that no others come there except their men, farmers at their will. And they say that the island is eight leagues in length, and in breadth at its widest three leagues, in other places two and one league, and half a league at its narrowest. Also they say that the island is distant two leagues from the main covert . . . . And they say that two towns, namely Dundraye and Blencogou lie directly between the island and the great covert.

According to Denton's account, the forest land of Allerdale and the Holme Cultram were given by Alan, son of Waltheof, to Henry the Second. He also says that "the Holm Cultram was waste forest ground replenished with red deer, and a demesn of Allerdale at the Conquest."

It will be seen that we have no detailed statement of the bounds of the forest for the reign of Henry the Third as we have for the reign of his grandfather; but it is possible to map them out with something like accuracy. A few hints are given in the Pleas of the Forest already referred to, which notice offences dating back to the forty-

seventh year of Henry the Third. The principal points there given are that Langwathby was outside the forest, but that the opposite bank of the Eden was within; that the Ellen was the western boundary, and that Kirkland, just beyond it, was outside the "metes of the forest;" that Swalebymire, one of the marshes running down to Holme Cultram was within, and that the boundary went somewhere north of Wigton. Palmcastre was another place mentioned, but it does not seem to be identified. It cannot be Papcastle, for it was east of the Ellen. Its position might throw light on situation of the south-west corner of the forest.

The uncertainty is in connection to the westerly limits; probably a line from Caldbeck to Uldale, and so along the course of the Ellen and the Crummock, to enclose the island of Holme Cultram, reaching the road from Wigton to Carlisle where the Wampool crosses it, would be as nearly accurate as it is possible to get. The other boundaries appear to be those already mentioned in the perambulation of Inglewood.

As the inquisition about the privileges of the Warden of the Forest presents a certain amount of technical difficulty, it is thought that readers might like to have the Latin version. It is a good example of a forest record, and affords an interesting study of late Latin.

Inquisitio coram Vicecomite Cumberlandæ, Vicecomite Lancastriæ, et Willielmo de Dakre, in presencia Viridariorum et Forestariorum forestæ de Karleolo, quibus libertatibus Thomas de Multon et predecessores sui forestarii domini Regis de feodo ejusdem forestæ usi fuerint temporibus suis, et quibus libertatibus et juribus hucusque extiterint in sæsina ratione custodiæ predictæ balliæ, facta per subscriptos, scilicet Johannem de Mora, Willielmum de Wardwyk, Robertum de Wyterig, Johannem de furmerie, Ivonem de Racton, Raynerum de Racton, Alexandrum de Ribeton, Alanum de Thorisby, Henricum de Trellekeld, Robertum de Waverton, Johannem de Huatradsat, Alexandrum de Neuton, Galfridum de Seburgham, Patricium de Ulvisby, Hugonem de Langrig, Adam de Plumlund, Bricium de Penred, et Simonem de Wyrihal.

Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod dictus Thomas de Multon est forestarius de feodo de tota foresta domini Regis de Englewodo, et reddere debet pro sua ballia x. marcas argenti; dicunt et quod dicto Thomæ pertinere esscapium omnium animalium exceptis porcis. Dicunt et esscapium porcorum sibi pertinere per totum annum captorum in haya de Plumton. Item dicunt sibi pertinere escapium porcorum in foresta in tempore forestationis, scilicet per quindinam ante festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ et per xv. post. Dicunt et quod debet habere totum boscum mortuum per totam forestam stando et jacendo, et boscum siccum et omnia ligna quæ fructum non proferunt, ceppagium, cooperones et cortices lignorum, et haec ligna—alnea, bula,* salcea, et totos cablicos et branchia et totum residum quercuum datarum per præceptum domini Regis, præter in haya de Plumton, quod nihil inde de bosco accipiet.

Et dicunt quod si aliquis furtive aliquam quercum prosternat, dictus Thomas debet corpus suum attachiare secundum legem forestæ, ut captus veniat coram Justiciariis forestæ, et dominus Rex habebit attachiamenta et amerciamenta, ita quod dictus Thomas habeat quercum prostratam. Dicunt et quod dictus Thomas habet potestatem fugandi in foresta ad leporem, vulpem, murilegum, lupum, tessonem, lutrum, martinum, et ad squirellum, et ad omnes alias feras silvestres præter ad cervum et cervam, damum et damam, cheverillum et cheverillam, ayrum et layam, ancipitrem, quæ sunt domini Regis. Dicunt et quod dictus Thomas debet habere falcones, espervarios, muskettos, et omnes ayerias præter ancipitres, quæ remanent domino Regi. Dicunt et quod dictus Thomas debet habere totum mel cum cera per totum dominicum boscum domini Regis. Dicunt et quod predecessores dicti Thomæ ceperunt foris viam in dominico bosco domini Regis, ita quod nullus iret extra viam regalem nisi per licentiam forestarii. Set dicunt quod dictus Thomas non usus est captione foris viæ in tempore suo. Item dicunt quod idem debet habere vetus pannagium porcorum dominico bosco domini Regis a die Sancti Martini in hyeme usque ad festum Sancti Andreæ ejusdem anni. Item dicunt quod idem usus est piscariæ per totam forestam domini Regis in omnibus aquis et lays† in foresta predicta, et ita solebant predecessores predicti Thomæ. Item dicunt quod idem Thomas non permittet vicecomitem nec aliquos ballios intrare forestam domini Regis cum arcubus et sagittis nisi tantum pro districtione denariorum domini Regis, et hoc per

* Bula is birch, the word being a Latinised form of the French bouleau; salcea, willow.

† Lays, apparently a fanciful way of writing the ablative plural of laia, a wood.

visum forestariorum. Item dicunt quod dictus Thomas debet habere expeditationem canum, et ubi invenerit canem non expeditatum in dicta foresta habebit per canem iij. solidos tantum. Item dicunt quod predecessores dicti Thomæ et dictus Thomas in tempore usi sunt constituere quoscunque voluerint forestarios et eosdem deponere ad voluntatem eorum, et quos velint constituere, ita quod intendentes sint predicto Thomæ et senescallo predictæ forestæ. Item dicunt quod dictus Thomas debet tenere placita quæ sibi spectant, et hoc sit semper proximo die post comitatum Karleoli, et ita de comitatu in comitatum. Item dicunt quod forestarii de feodo debent respondere dicto domino Thomæ vel senescallo suo de omnibus supradictis quæ sibi spectent, et quod nullus wodewardus debet portare arcum cum sagittastis in dicta foresta, set tam forestarius de feodo quam wodewardi debebunt facere sacramentum de fidelitate eidem observanda. Dicunt et quod dictus Thomas et predecessores solebant et usi sunt facere carbones de copronibus et aliis lignis quæ ipsum contingunt ratione suæ balliæ, ubicunque voluerint in foresta predicta. Dicunt et sibi pertinere liberum chiminagium ad omnia supradicta carianda ubicunque voluerit in predicta foresta.

ART III.—*Three Petitions of Shap Abbey.* By R. J. WHITWELL, B. Litt., and W. N. THOMPSON.

Read at Carlisle, April 19th, 1904.

THE petitions which follow were copied by Mr. Whitwell at the Record Office. To each has been added a translation as revised by him.

I.

A nostre Seignur le Roi, prient ses poures Chapeleyns Labbe e le couent de Heppe al Counte de Westmerland qe come Robert le fuiz Johan de Vespount' iadis Seignur du dit Counte lor dona par sa chartre quatre mars par an du cornage del dit pais a receyure de certeines villes sicome piert par la dite chartre e des queux deniers ils ount este continuaument seisi iusqes a la forfeiture Roger de Clifford. Qe lui plese comaunder au vicomte du dit Counte qil lor soeffre les ditz deniers peisiblement receyure et sur ceo confermer lor dite chartre de sa grace, eaunt regard a lour grant meschef e destruccioun.

Endorsed. Mostrent lor chartre en Chancellerie, e seit enquis de lour estat e de lour seisine e dreit fait vtre en Chancellerie.

Irrotulatur.

Coram rege. Herlaston.

Ancient Petition, No. 2535.

I.—[TRANSLATION].

To our lord the King pray his poor chaplains the Abbot and Convent of Heppe in the county of Westmerland, that whereas Robert, the son of John de Vespount, formerly lord of the said county, gave them by his charter four marks by the year of the cornage of the said country to be received from certain vills, as appears by the said charter, and of which moneys they have been continuously seised until the forfeiture of Roger de Clifford. That it may please him to command the sheriff of the said county that he suffer them peaceably to receive the said moneys, and thereupon to confirm their said charter of his grace, having regard to their great damage and destruction.*

* Wrought, I suppose, by Scottish incursions.

Endorsed. Let them show their charter in Chancery, and let there be an inquisition of their estate and their seisin, and let further justice be done in Chancery.

It is enrolled.

Before the King. Herlaston.

Roger de Clifford was the son and heir of Robert de Clifford, who is mentioned in the third petition. "He was attainted of treason," say Nicolson and Burn, (i., p. 277), "in the 15 Ed. II. . . . for adhering to Thomas earl of Lancaster."

Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, led the baronial opposition to Edward II.; he was captured at Boroughbridge and executed March 22, 1321-22; and so the date of this petition will lie between 1322 and July, 1323, as we gather from Mr. Whitwell's notes.

Mr. Whitwell first quotes from the *Close Roll* (17 Edw. II., m. 40 in *Calr.* 11):—

"1323 July 28. Cowick.

"To the sheriff of Westmorland.

Order to permit the abbot and convent of Hepp to receive four marks of yearly rent as below, as their predecessors have been wont to receive from the time of the making of the charter of Robert son of John de Veteri Ponte, as the King learns by inquisition taken by Robert de Barton and Henry de Warthecoppe,* that the aforesaid Robert granted to the abbot and convent by his charter four marks of yearly rent of his cornage due to him from certain of his tenants in the county of Westmorland, to wit from Thomas de Hellebeck and his heirs, two marks of yearly rent for lands held of Robert in Ascom, from Robert de la Fierte and his heirs one mark of yearly rent for lands held of Robert in Milneburn, and from Eustace de Laval and his heirs one mark of yearly rent for lands held of Robert in Milneburn, to be received at two terms of the year, for the maintenance of a canon of the convent to celebrate divine service daily in the abbey for the dead, saving to Robert and his heirs the homages, wardships, reliefs, suits of court, and all other services that the said Thomas, Robert and Eustace have been wont to render for the aforesaid lands, in addition to the four marks aforesaid, and that the abbot and convent and their predecessors have always been in full and peaceful seisin of the above rent from the

* Sheriff of Westmorland, 10 July, 1314, to 24 Oct. 1320, during the minority of Robert de Clifford's heir.

time of the making of the said charter until the rent was taken into the King's hands by the forfeiture of Roger de Clifford, the last lord of the aforesaid tenants.

"Afterwards, on 24 March, the like order was sent to the sheriff."

Mr. Whitwell goes on to say that Patrick de Colewenne, the sheriff in question, apparently did not carry out this order; nor did his successors, Henry de Warthecoppe (above named) and Henry de Threlkeld. But by a writ, dated at Kenilworth, 2 April, 1326 (*Close Roll* 19 Edw. II., m. 9: *Calr.* 466), addressed to the constable of Appleby castle, and reciting the result of the inquisition, as above, the King ordered the constable to pay to the abbot and convent the arrears of the said four marks for the time that he had been constable, and to pay the same thereafter for so long as he should have that office. And, by writ of 14 April, the treasurer and barons of the exchequer were ordered to cause allowance to be made to the constable for what he should pay in execution of the preceding order.

II.

Ceo pry a nostre seygnur le Rey le Abbe de Hepp' en le Conte de Westerlande de ordre de Premustre ke com Richard del Egle prestre auayt purchace auaunt le statut de teres noun aliener en morte meyne vne sekke rente annuel de L souz de sir Richard de Laton cheualer de prendre par les mayns sir William de Styrkeland' ke taunt doneyt par an pur terre ke il teynt de luy en le Conte auantdit a la sustenaunce vn chappeleyn chantant perpetuel pur les almes tuz cristiens. E meme le prestre apres le statut auantdit cela rente dona e assigna a lauantdit Abbe pur trouer cele chaunterye a tuz iurs. E de cele rente fu le Abbe seysy an e demy e les seruises del chaunterye fist. E adunkes dame Margarete de Ros, de ky sir William de Styrkeland teynt le tenement dunt cele sekke rente issit com tenement purchace del auantdit sir Richard primes tenaunt, la dame Hohta* le Abbe de cele rente come forfet par lenchesone du statut. E si est le Abbe charge des seruises du chappeleyn saunz rens prendre. Ke nostre seygnur le Rey ly face si ly plest en ceste chose remedy e grace desicom benefiz du statut fu perdu kant a la dame pur le tens limite passe, e deuenuz al Rey.

Endorsed. In Caucellaria habeat breue noue desseisine.

Ancient Petition, No. 2536.

* For *osta*, 'ousted.'

II.—[TRANSLATION].

This prays of our lord the King the Abbot of Hepp in the county of Westmorland, of the order of Prémontré, that whereas Richard del Egle, priest, had acquired, before the statute which forbids the alienation of lands in mortmain, one yearly rent seck of 50s. from Sir Richard de Laton, knight, to be taken by the hands of Sir William de Styrkeland, who gave so much a year for land which he held of him in the county aforesaid, for the support of a perpetual chanting chaplain for the souls of all Christians. And the same priest, after the statute aforesaid, gave and assigned that rent to the aforesaid Abbot for finding that chantry for ever. And of that rent was the Abbot seised for a year and a half and performed the services of the chantry. And then Lady Margaret de Ros, of whom Sir William de Styrkeland held the tenement from which that rent seck issued, as a tenement obtained from the aforesaid Sir Richard, at first tenant,—the lady ousted the Abbot of that rent as forfeited by reason of the statute. And so the Abbot is charged with the services of the chaplain without receiving anything. That our lord the King would be pleased to grant him in this matter a remedy and favour, seeing that the benefit of the statute was lost, so far as the lady is concerned, on account of the time-limit being passed, and has lapsed to the King.

Endorsed. Let him have in chancery a writ of novel disseisin.

The statute mentioned is, of course, that known as *Statutum de Religiosis* (7 Edw. I., 1279), which provides that if land—and rent, as issuing out of land, is the same thing—be alienated in mortmain, it is liable to be forfeited to the immediate lord of the fee; and if he failed to take advantage of the time allowed—one year—then the lord next above him had a similar opportunity within the ensuing half-year; and so other lords, if any, up to the King.

In this case there were no intermediate lords between Lady Margaret de Ros and the King. She was lady of Kendal—of that part which afterwards came to be known as the Marquis and Lumley fees. Her husband, Robert de Ros of Werk, appears to have died about 1273-4 (Bain's *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii., 15), she herself surviving for many years afterwards.

Of the other persons mentioned, Sir Richard de Laton appears to have been lord of Dalemain, Cumberland, in the reign of Henry III. (John Denton, *Cumberland*, p. 113); he was living in 1268 (Bain's *Cal. Doc. Scot.* i., 2465, 2487).

Sir William de Styrkeland acquired the manor of Sizergh and other lands in Westmorland by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph Deincourt. He had also the manor of Great Strickland from his father, who died in 1278. Sir William was living in 1303. (On him see Chancellor Prescott's note in the *Reg. of Wetherhal*, p. 326).

As to the date of this petition we can only say that it was at least a year and a half after 1279.

III.

A nostre Seignur le Roi e a son conseil prient ses pouer Chapeleyns Labbe e le Covent de Schap' qil voile si lui plese auoir pite e conpacion de eaux, qe la ou Labbe fuist Coillour del quinszime dener grante au dit nostre Seignur le Roi par la Clergie en le Euesche de Cardoil', vint Sire Robert de Clyfford adonqe gardein de la march' et prist du dit Abbe xxv. li. a force e encontra lour volente et lui promyst loialment qil lui garderait saunz damage, et lui freit auoir garant de nostre Seignur le Roi, et lui bailla ses lettres de tant argent rescu al oeps le Roi [dont les transcriptz sont aiointz a cestes peticion *interlined*]. Le quel Sire Robert en le meyn temps morut saunz garant pourchace* si qe Labbe demore a la grace nostre Seignur le Roi. Dount ils lui prient pur dieu et pur les almes ces [sic] Auncestres qil voille auoir regard a lour pouerte et a lour destruccion et granter a eaux pardon.

Endorsed. Coram Domino Rege.

Ancient Petition, No. 3530.

III.—[TRANSLATION].

To our Lord the King and his Council pray his poor chaplains the Abbot and Convent of Schap that he would be pleased to have pity and compassion on them, that whereas the Abbot was Collector of the fifteenth granted to our said lord the King by the clergy in the bishopric of Carlisle, there came Sir Robert de Clifford, then

* *Sic*, for *pourchacer*, 'obtain.'

Warden of the March, and took from the said Abbot £25 by force and against their will, and promised him faithfully to save him harmless, and that he would cause him to have a warrant from our lord the King, and gave him his letters of so much money received for the King's use [the transcripts of which are attached to this petition *]. Which Sir Robert in the mean time died without obtaining the warrant, so that the Abbot remains in the mercy of our lord the King. Wherefore they pray for the sake of God and the souls of his ancestors that he would have regard on their poverty and their destruction and grant them pardon.

Endorsed. Before our lord the King.

This Sir Robert de Clifford is spoken of by Nicolson and Burn as the greatest man of the family. He appears to have been in great favour, except for an interval, with Edward II. We need not enquire into the exact date of the collection of this special fifteenth, for it would not help us. Sir Robert was slain at Bannockburn in 1314, and the date of this petition is after that event. (On Sir Robert see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

* The words in square brackets are interlined. The transcripts have disappeared.

ART. IV.—*A Sandwith-Grindal Pedigree.* By W. N. THOMPSON.

Read at Carlisle, April 19th, 1904.

OF the chief statement in the pedigree below, which is taken from a copy sent to me by Major R. L. Sandwith, viz., that John Sandwith married a sister of Archbishop Grindal, there seems to be no confirmation. It has hitherto been known that the Archbishop had a sister Elizabeth, the wife of William Woodhall, and a brother Robert; he mentions several of their children in his will as his nephews and nieces; he also mentions several of the officers or servants of his household, amongst whom occurs Robert Sandwich * of Stillington, to whom he leaves "a Ring, Price thirty shillings," but does not style him nephew.

It is probable that Robert Sandwith's mother was a Grindal, but not so near as sister to the Archbishop.

It is true this pedigree was certified by Henry Sandwith, grandson of the Sandwith-Grindal marriage, and it may be supposed that a man would be likely to know who his grandmother was. But we have an instance to the contrary: in the Visitation pedigree of Wybergh in 1665, Thomas Wybergh (æt. 35, 5 April 1665) certified that his grandmother, the wife of Thomas Wybergh of Clifton and St. Bees, was " . . . Sister to Edmund Grindale, Archbishop of Canterbury" (*Visitation Pedigrees of Cumb. and Westm.* ed. Foster, p. 148); whereas we know she was the Archbishop's niece, being Ann, eldest daughter of his brother Robert, and widow of William Dacre †

* *Sic* in the printed copy in Strype's *Life*. Major Sandwith informs me that Robert Sandwith had a lease of the Archiepiscopal tithes at Stillington.

† Thomas Wyber and Ann Dacre married at St. Bees, Oct. 13, 1586.

Gibbon's Visitation of Lincolnshire, 1634.

SANDWITH. { *Arms.*—Azure, a fleur-de-lis argent; a chief indented or.
Crest.—Out of a mural crown or, a demi lion rampant azure, holding a fleur-de-lis or.

JOHN SANDWITH of Sandwith Grange, County of York. = ... daughter of . . . . Grindall of St. Bees, sister to Archbishop Grindall.

ROBERT in the County of York. = ALICE daughter and heir of Henry Wright of Skipton in Craven.

- ANN
- GRACE
- ELIZABETH
- HENRY of Burton (*sic*) upon Humber in the County of Lincoln, now living 1634. = MAUDLIN daur. of Rich. Atkinson of Barton by the daur. of Henry Everington.
- THOMAS of Bury St. Edmunds tn Suffolk, 2nd son, died unmarried 1650.

- 2 ROBERT
- 3 HENRY
- 4 WILLIAM
- RICHARD son and heir apparent 25 years. = ELIZABETH d. of Edward Nelthorpe of Beverley in Yorkshire.
  - HENRY son and heir apparent, about a year and a half old 1634.
  - MAGDALEN born April 1635.
- 5 JOHN
- 1 MAGDALEN wife of Edw. Nelthorpe of Brigg.
- 6 GRACE

HENRY SANDWITH.

Extracted from copy at College of Arms by R.L.S. in Dec. 1902.

(Jackson, *Papers and Pedigrees*, i., p. 64). And I dare say similar instances could be found.

On the value of 'Visitation' evidence generally see J. H. Round's *Studies in Peerage and Family History, passim.*

The following extract from the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (iii., pt. 2), which was also sent me by Major Sandwith, is of considerable interest, the Willm Gryndale therein mentioned being probably the Archbishop's father :—

"20 Oct. 1523. } Dacre to Surrey.

"Sends a letter from Robt Alenby, Prior of St Bees in Cowpland, late Prior of Wedrall & of St Mary's York, which he received by Ric. More & Willm Gryndale, men of good reputation in St Bees. Was told by them, that the servants of the latter being in the Isle of Man on Sunday week, saw 30 sail between it and Ireland and that they kept watch for them that night and Monday till noon, on the island and the mainland &c. &c."

ART. V.—*Gospatrik's Charter.* By the Rev. FREDERICK W. RAGG. M.A.,

Read at Carlisle, April 19th, 1904.

(THE TEXT AS IT STANDS IN THE COPY).

GOSPATRIK greot ealle mine wassenas & hyylkun mann freo & ðrenge þeo woonan on eallun þam landann þeo weoron Cōmbres & eallun mine Kynling freondlycc & ic cyðe eoy þ' myne mynna is & full leof þ' Thorfynn mac Thore beo swa freo on eallan ðynges þeo beo myne on Alnerdall swa ænyg mann beo oðer ic oðer ænyg myne wassenas on weald on freyð on heyninga & æt allun ðyngan þeo bȳ eorðe bænand & ðeoronðer to Shauk to Wafyr to poll Waðœn to bek Troyte & þeo weald æt Caldebek & ic wille þ' þeo mann bydann mið Thorfynn æt Carðeu & Combeðeyfoch beo swa freals myð hem swa Melmor & Thore & Sygoolf weoron on Eadread dagan & ne beo neann mann swa ðeorif (b)ehat mið þ' ic heobbe gegyfene to hem ne ghar brech seo gyrth ðyylc Eorl Syward & ic hebbe gecyðet hem cefrelycc swa ænyg mann leofand þeo welkynn ðeoronðer & lot hyylkun bȳ þar byðann geyldfreo beo swa ic bȳ & swa Willann Wallðeof & Wygande & Wyberth & Gamell & Kūyth & eallun mine Kynling & wassenas & ic wille þ' Thorfynn heobbe soc & sac toll & theam ofer eallun þam landan on Carðeu & on Combeðeyfoch þ' weoran gyfene Thore on Moryn dagan freols myd bode & wytnesmann on þyylk stow.

(ATTEMPTED RESTORATION OF THE TEXT, SUPPLYING IN BRACKETS SOME OF THE APPARENTLY OMITTED WORDS).

Gospatrik greot ealle mine wassenas & hyylkun mann freo & ðrenge þeo woonan on eallun þam landann þeo

weoron Cōmbres[c] & eallun mine Kynling freondlycc & ic cyðe eoy þ' myne mynna is & full leof þ' Thorfynn mac Thore beo swa freo on eallan ðynges þeo beo myne on Alnerdall swa ænyg mann beo, oðer ic oðer ænyg myne wassenas, on weald on freyð on [ ] on heyninga, & æt allun ðyngan þeo byn eorðe bænand & ðeorónðer, to Shauk to Wafyr to poll Waðoen to bek Troyte & þeo weald æt Caldebek & ic wille þ' þeo mann [*þeo*] bydann mið Thorfynn æt Carðeu & Combeðeyfoch beo swa freals myð hem swa Melmor & Thore & Sygoolf weoron on Eadread dagan, & ne beo neann mann swa ðeorof (b)ehat mið þæt [*þæt*] ic heobbe gegyfene [*hem swa he*] to hem *nahwar* brech seo gyrth ðyylc Eorl Syward & ic hebbe gecyðet hem [*swa*] freolicc swa ænyg mann leofand þeo welkynn ðeorónðer & *let* hyylkun [*þe*] byn þar byðann geyldfreo beo swa ic byn & swa Willann [&] Wallðeof & Wygande & Wyberth & Gamell & Kunyth & eallun mine Kynling & wassenas & ic wille þ' Thorfynn heobbe soc & sac toll & theam ofer eallun þam landan(n) on Carðeu & on Combeðeyfoch þ' weoran gyfene Thore on Moryn dagan freols myd bode & wytnesmann on þyylk stow.

(TRANSLATION).

I Gospatrik greet kindly all my vassals and each man free and dreng that dwell(s) in the lands that (of late) were Cumbrian and all my kindred; and I do you to wit that my will and full pleasure is that Thorfynn mac Thore be as free in all things that are mine in Alnerdall [Allerdale] as any man is, either I or any of my vassals, on field in woodland and on enclosed land; and in regard to all things that dwell on the earth and under, as far as to Shauk (Chalkbeck) Wafr [River Waver] Pol Waðoen [River Wampole] bek Troyte [Troutbeck*] and the open field at Caldebek [Caldbeck]; and I will that the men that dwell with Thorfynn at Carðeu (Cardew) and at

* Identified by Mr. F. H. M. Parker with the Wisa. See above, p. 42.

Combeðeyfoch (Cumdivock) be, together with him, as free as Melmor and Thore and Sygoolf were in Eadread's days; and let no man be so evil-disposed on account of this, that I have bestowed this on him, that he anywhere breaks the peace which Earl Siward and I have proclaimed to him as freely as any man living under heaven; and let each that dwells there be as geld-free as I am and as Willann and Wallðeof and Wygande and Wyberth and Gamell and Kunyth and all my kindred and vassals. And I will that Thorfynn have 'soc and sac and toll and team' over all the lands at Carðeu and Combeðeyfoch that were given to Thore in Moryn's days by proclamation and before witnesses * at that place.

Among the deeds—over 450 in number, to which access was given me at Lowther, when in the early part of October, 1902, I was working there for the purposes of the *Victoria History of the Counties*, were some of very great interest, throwing light on obscure points in the mediæval history of Westmorland, and also on the life and customs of mediæval times. Two only of the documents seemed to me to need being photographed for the mere purpose of elucidation. One was a copy of a deed of Gospatrik, the other was a deed of Gilbert fitz Roger fitz Reinfred. Gilbert's deed offered chiefly a problem, still unsolved, in the places mentioned: Gospatrik's was so unique and interesting that it gave me more than joy. Dr. Haswell was good enough to photograph these at my request, made through the custodian, Mr. R. H. Bailey, who I may mention deserves much credit for the way in which unaided and untrained he has worked at the difficulties of some of the muniments from antiquarian interest, though his necessary occupations do not admit of his doing systematic work at them. The other deeds at which I

* This word (wytnesman) has a technical colouring apparently.

was working are still awaiting, as was Gospatrik's charter, the publication of the *Victoria History*. For the reason that I was at work on that behalf I made no publication of the find of this deed, but handed the account of it with decipherment and translation to the editors of the *History* for their use. I discovered however late in the summer of 1903 that use was being made of it outside, and in simple self-defence, I gained consent of the editors of the *Victoria History* that I should publish in the *Ancestor* of October, 1903, a statement of the circumstances of the find; the charter, and my reading and the translation, together with such commentary as I could then put together. At so late a date the whole time available for doing this was simply a few hours.

This preface over, I now turn to the deed and the deductions from its contents which it seems to me safe to draw. I do not find myself in agreement with Mr. Wilson's paper published in the *Scottish Historical Review*, but differ in most important points therefrom. To begin with I am quite satisfied that the copy is not a first hand copy nor of the thirteenth century as he says. I certainly never saw a thirteenth century deed with the characteristics of that deed. That the script reminds one of the style of that period is in this case no evidence, when all other things tell the other way, of anything more than that the copy from which it was made was a twelfth century or early thirteenth century copy. And I have given in the *Ancestor* reasons why it must belong to a later date. In its very front, to one who is used to investigation amongst original deeds, it bears the mark of being a fifteenth or perhaps sixteenth century copy.

The transcript of the text as I have given it * differs, I see, somewhat from that which Mr. Wilson gives and there are points of grammar on which I differ. There seems

* In the paper in the *Ancestor* there are some literal errors which I much regret. Waðeen should have been Waðoen; Sygolf—Sygoolf, and Knyth—Kūyth; and Waltheof in a way to me unaccountable slipped in for Wallðeof.

no need to suppose, as Mr. Wilson does, a change from third person to first in the opening. 'Gospatrik greot' is simply 'Ic Gospatrik greot' with the 'ic' understood. This is clear from other charters. The deed he quotes as authority for the change in Thorpe's *Diplomatorium*, p. 313, might, if it stood alone, support him, but there are others which do not, and notably one on p. 308 of the same work. In the word (blotted at the end) which is read by him as getyðet, and which Mr. Bevan Petman and I read as gecyðen, I believe the true reading is 'gecyðet,' the 'c,' as often, is so like 't,' that it is very difficult to decide for one against the other. The word which he gives as þehat is a most difficult word, and I do not think the initial blur represents 'þ' but 'b.' The sense wanted is 'inimically disposed, ill disposed or angered,' and the Ormulum has an obsolete word 'behate,' to hold in hatred, which suggests 'behat' as one of its kin. The blur might, it is true, disguise 'h,' but with this I can make no sense. Mr. Wilson does not seem to have noticed that 'ic heobbe gegyfen to hem' is not Anglo-Saxon construction, and that the very presence of 'to' shows that something is omitted. 'Into' (but I think never 'to') sometimes follows 'giefan' (to give) when the gift is made to a church, or the saint as representing the church, but never, I think, when the gift is to an actual person, nor does it come in any case before a pronoun. The words 'to hem' must belong to the following clause, "*nor in regard to them* let him break the peace." Upon this hint I acted in trying to restore the text.

In the text something is wanted to express 'in aquis' to go with 'in bosco and in plano' as is usual in old deeds; I think some words are lost which would supply the omission, and Mr. Wilson by translating weald as 'wood,' and rendering the other words as 'heath' and enclosures,—but adding a note to 'freyth' explaining it as 'coppice,' seems to have got a little mixed. I take weald to be like veldt (Norse völlr) the open field.

Turning now to the historical deductions I can only follow the reasoning which experience in the study of old documents in the original fosters. And here I find myself still more at variance with what appears in the *Scottish Historical Review*. What does the document in itself tell? And does what it tells fit in with what historians have held, or does it contravene their history? Does the new light baffle, or does it illuminate the scene for us?

The deed, as its own tale tells, is the confirmation to a certain Thorfynn mac Thore* (= Thorfynn Thoresön) of rights which Thore (evidently his father) had possessed in the days of Eadread and Moryn. This confirmation is granted by Gospatrik in the 'letter patent' addressed to all his vassals (I use the word for want of a better) and all men that dwell in the lands '*that were Cumbrian.*' The description marks out the extent of his rule under Siward the Earl; were he a King it would describe his dominions, and Gospatrik is evidently not overlord. Living at the time of this grant, as is clear from the wording, was Earl Siward, in conjunction with whom he has that sovereign right of proclaiming legal protection 'the peace,' answering to a 'King's peace.' No other overlord is mentioned, neither King of England nor Scotland, nor in any way implied. And Gospatrik, with apparently only the limitation which Earl Siward could impose, is in position to grant by his own authority the right of exercising justice and of receiving the profits accruing from the forfeits of the condemned.† The description of Gospatrik's territory is given as 'the lands that were Cumbrian.' This at least seems the most natural way to take that word. I believe the word to be adjectival and to represent some such word as 'Cōmbraisc.' I cannot take it as the genitive of a personal name. Work amongst old records of the North

* Besides the illustration I gave in the *Ancestor* of this Celtic mac (= son) joining two Norse names, I can here give Sygtrig mac Olave and Godfrey O'Ivar (=Ivarson) from the *History of the Danes in Ireland*.

† Soc and sac.

of England of different centuries makes me feel that were it a genitive the genitive sign would be missing and the word 'lands' repeated. We have instances of this in this very deed in 'on Eadread dagan' and 'on Moryn dagan.'

The description would be patent in meaning 'to all whom it concerned,' and there would be a reason for its being couched in such a form. If we use this as hypothesis, and, reasoning on it together with what we learn from the scanty records still existing, find that we gain light on the darkness of old Cumberland history I think we may take this interpretation as the true one.

In 945, we are told in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, King Edmund harried all Cumberland and handed it over to Malcolm, King of Scots, on condition that he would be his fellow worker by sea and land. In 966 Thored Gunner's son, who appears to have been an under Earl in Northumbria, harried 'Westmoringaland,' which from this would seem to be in the hands of the Scottish King. In 1000 Ethelred the Unready (as we learn from another source) himself harried Cumberland because Malcolm, King there under the King of Scots, refused him payment to keep off the Danes, saying that it was Ethelred's right to claim him as his man to help him in fight but not in paying money. Later on Duncan, nephew of this Malcolm, when Malcolm was on the throne of Scotland and Duncan was ruling Cumberland under him, refused to acknowledge the overlordship of Knut, saying that he was not the rightful King of England. These attacks and harryings were all from the *English* side. Turning to Northumbria we find the attacks and harryings coming from the *Scottish* side. In the reign of Ethelred the Unready the invading Scots were defeated at Durham by Earl Uhtred; in 1018 Malcolm defeated and slew Earl Eadwulf at Carham on the Tweed; and other invasions and harryings apparently followed till Knut's march to the north in 1031 or 1032 changed the face of things. The history speaks for itself. Northumbria was English:

Cumbria was Scottish with the English King as overlord. Between Northumbria and Cumbria there was no link, and the Earl of Northumberland was not overlord over the Earl of Cumberland—if Earl of Cumberland there was. But the history also gives us another suggestion which so far as I know, the historical instinct of John Richard Green was first to begin to realize; and had he been living till Gospatrik's deed was brought to light, he would I feel certain have been able, through that deed, to go further on the track on which he started and see how the deed helps in the elucidation of the mysterious changes of the boundary between the English and the Scottish Kingdoms.

Edgar, by vague tradition or conjecture, is said to have granted Lothian to the Scots. For this statement there seems no real authority and no reason. Simeon of Durham in his account of the siege of Durham states that Earl Eadwulf, successor of Uhtred, surrendered it in order to obtain peace. But Eadwulf's defeat and death defending his territory tell a different tale. Taking into account what usually happened in such raids and the time needed to gather a defensive force together, and remembering that Carham is on the Tweed, it looks as if either Earl Eadwulf had been driven out of Lothian by the Scots and had fallen back behind the first most defensible line that he could reach, or had only been able to gather his forces in time to make use of such a position. The Scottish King may easily have held Lothian as well as Cumbria all the way to the Lune or Ribble, between the date of the defeat of Eadwulf and the hour when King Knut felt himself free to lead his army into Scotland. Malcolm and his under Kings then submitted, apparently without a blow, and an arrangement was come to about the boundary of Northumbria and Scotland, which, as Green suggests, was after that time the line of Tweed and Cheviots. Simeon's account we may take as valid so far as it represents the period of the change, though not

altogether as representing the circumstances. But is it likely that Knut, master of three kingdoms, with an unconquered army at his back, his foe at his feet, and with his wisdom in statecraft and in war, would consent to a direct surrender of a territory over which he was overlord simply because it had been taken possession of by his enemy? What seems clear is, that, grasping the immense advantage which a boundary reaching across from sea to sea would possess over the long inland line reaching from Edinburgh to the Lune or Ribble, he would take advantage of the circumstances to have Tweed, Cheviots, and the line to the Solway as a 'scientific' or 'strategic' boundary (to use modern terms for it), by allowing Malcolm to keep Lothian in exchange for Cumbria south of Solway. The transfer must have taken place, for Simeon emphatically states that Siward's earldom over '*all Northumberland*' was bounded by the Tweed; and Gospatrik's deed shows Earl Siward as overlord over Cumbria (south of Solway)—'*the lands that were Cumbrian.*' These words gain meaning thus; and natural enough would be the transfer of those lands to the Northumbrian Earls as compensation for the loss of Lothian. And one can easily understand the wisdom of placing the Cumbrian territory, which had so little of Northumbrian in it, in the hands of an under Earl.

Siward succeeded after an interval of what looks like weak ruling; his force of character, his personal strength and afterwards his connexions made him almost an independent sovereign, and in his territories the thought would hardly occur of any overlord. He could marry his daughter to one King of Scots, could defeat and drive out another, and could be called upon to deliver the English King from the power of the southern Earls of Godwine's House. This is a position tacitly implied in the deed.

Though the original deed by the only natural interpretation of its wording must thus have dated from Siward's life-time, there is room left for two under Earls of 'the

lands that were Cumbrian' preceeding Gospatrik, viz.:—Eadread and Moryn, and it may be, others whose names are lost. For Knut's campaign was in 1031 or 1032, and Siward died in 1055. But if the charter, as seems on all accounts most probable, was granted by the Gospatrik who was afterwards Earl of Northumbria, comparison of dates tells that it could not date from more than a year or two earlier than Siward's death, when Siward was at the summit of his power.

Tostig, brother of Harold, was the next Earl. Against him the Northumbrians revolted in 1065, and Gospatrik was one of the Thanes who joined in the revolt; and much as if they had been an independent people the Northumbrians chose their Earl without reference to an overlord. Close on this followed the Norman conquest of most of England. But William though he laid Northumberland waste seems never to have crossed the hills into Cumberland even in his second expedition to the north. With an army almost in mutiny, part of which—the men of Brittany and Anjou—he allowed to return home, even he found his power crippled, and the land beyond the Stainmore Cross and the fells by Shap and the mountains north of Furness remained untouched. Tostig's earldom, as we know from *Domesday Book*, included Lancashire north of the Sands and the most southerly corner of Cumberland, and at that date these do not seem to have had any under earl.

What then was taking place in the untouched territory? We may safely reason that Gospatrik was in possession there, for he emerges in 1068, as accompanying Edgar Atheling and his sisters to Malcolm's court, and after that as leading the 'whole strength of the Northumbrians' to combine with Edgar, Waltheof and the Danes, and as helping in the slaughter of the Normans at York. Then came the great disasters and William's laying waste of Northumberland. And by some unrecorded means, except that payment is mentioned, in

1070 Gospatrik is found in possession of the Northumbrian Earldom under William and plundering Cumberland, 'which was at that time,' says Simeon, 'held by Malcolm not by right but force.' This bit of incidental evidence is valuable. Clearly enough Malcolm had taken advantage of the state of things in England to attempt to assert the Scottish overlordship over Cumbria which had ceased in 1032, and Gospatrik looked on this as an infringement of his rights as Earl of Northumberland, according to the arrangement of 1032. But the swaying of the pendulum had not ceased. A furious attack on Gospatrik's Earldom of Northumberland by Malcolm followed, which caused William in 1072 to make war with Scotland and reduce Malcolm to the state of being his 'man.' But finding fault with Gospatrik he deprived him of his Earldom and so threw him into the shelter of the King of Scots. This deprivation, as it seems to me, cost William Cumbria, the possession of which as overlord he might have had and retained, by leaving Gospatrik in possession of Northumberland. For naturally the whole weight of the influence of Gospatrik and his kin was thenceforward thrown on to the side of Malcolm, who in the interval during which Gospatrik was Earl of Northumberland had added a new tie to the old kinship by marrying S. Margaret, Gospatrik's blood-relation.

From that time on till after William's death there is no more of Cumberland. The *Doomsday* record does not touch it except in its extreme south-west corner. It seems almost self-evident that Gospatrik's family remained in possession and that it was held as under the Scottish King more completely than had been the case before Knut's time, without a reminiscence of the overlordship of the English King. In 1092 Gospatrik's son Dolfin was driven out by William Rufus, but this in the circumstances was distinct invasion. It was not in any way enforcing an hereditary right. From 1072 on, the

possession of overlordship had been in the hands of the Scottish King as effectually as if he had held it in conquest, notwithstanding the vague possession claimed for William 'Meschin.'

Henry I. reinstated Dolfin's brother Waltheof in a part of the possessions that were once his father's. But this need cause us no surprise. Just as in after times when Edward I. made his attempt on Scotland, families were divided in their allegiance who held lands on both sides of the border; indeed just as it happened all through from Stephen's time till that time, so it seems to have been the case with Gospatrik's family.

The new claims of Scotland to Cumberland, which begin with the treaty made by Stephen, in order to secure the support of David, King of Scots, belong to later history. They were a reminiscence of the old overlordship and an attempt at resuscitation of it, but that does not alter the fact that they were really new.

With the occupation by William Rufus of Carlisle ended the old vicissitudes which I can now recapitulate in few words.

945—1032.—'Cumbria' (south of Solway) was under the overlordship of Scotland but subject to the higher overlordship of the English King.

1032—1066.—'Cumbria' was removed (in exchange for Lothian) from under the overlordship of Scotland, to be directly under that of England.

1066—1069.—'Cumbria' was in quasi independence in the midst of the confusion of William's conquest of England.

1069—1072.—'Cumbria' (except for Malcolm's raid) was under the overlordship of William, and in Gospatrik's hands as Earl of Northumberland.

1072—1092.—'Cumbria' lapsed into the overlordship of the King of Scots.

1092—1136.—'Cumbria' was in English overlordship and separated from Scottish.

One point in the charter has given me more trouble to satisfy myself about than any other. I see that Mr. Wilson has passed it over in silence. It is the word 'Willann.' Is it a verb or is it a proper name? On which it is depends a most interesting question as to the position of Gospatrik as an Earl in regard to his kinsfolk and dependents. Had he to obtain their sanction (as would be implied if Willann is 'they will') or could he make a grant without it?

At first I thought the word a personal name; but afterwards I gave way to the suggestion of Mr. Bevan Petman, not seeing clearly how to withstand the argument that all the verbs in the third person plural end in 'n' and that 'and' was absent. But I have since come back to my first conclusion. All the way through up to this point Gospatrik speaks as of his own right, willing what he chose except as limited by Earl Siward. The word too ends with a double and not a single n, as in the verbs; the 'swa' just preceding the word seems a parallel to the 'swa' which comes a few words before, 'swa ic byn.'—And Willan as a personal (or family) name is found in Westmorland records at various periods until long afterwards. Willann and Wallðeof and Wygande and Wyberth and Gamell and Kunyth are all, then, evidently 'thanes' who were geldfree as Gospatrik himself was. As to the identifications of any of them it is quite possible to be in too great a hurry. If Wallðeof were, as Mr. Wilson suggests, perhaps Waldeve, Gospatrik's son, the charter would certainly be unique in mentioning the son of the grantor in a stray way in amongst others not his sons. And if I am right in my conviction that the charter dates from Earl Siward's days, neither could this be the right identification nor could those he gives of Moryn and Sigoolf be the right ones; the names might be names of members of the families to which these men belonged indeed, but they would be of persons of an earlier generation.

It will be seen by readers of the *Ancestor* that I have altered my idea too that Eadread should read Ealdread. I take the name now, as I do Moryn, to be that of a predecessor of Gospatrik, not otherwise mentioned, in the under Earldom of Cumberland.

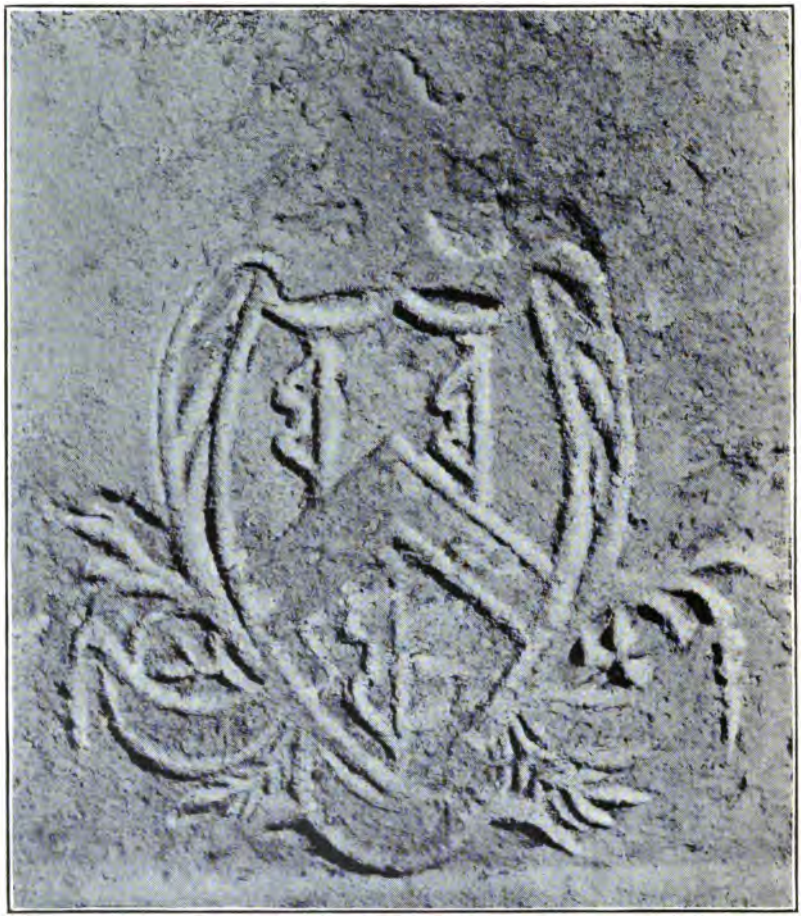
When I published the article in the *Ancestor*, I felt bound, in the position in which I was then placed, to reproduce the translation made by my friend and myself as it stood when originally sent to the editors of the *Victoria History* before he left for India. But in this paper I have given the results of further thought upon the matter of the text, amended readings and more definite conclusions. The prefixes mac and o' as representing son connected with Danish names in the History of the Danes in Ireland I give from Worsaae in *Minder om de Danske og Nordmændene i England, Skotland og Irland.*

POSTCRIPT.—I have lately been informed by a friend that Burn, in his *History of Westmoreland*, mentions this Gospatrik deed, but could not make anything of it. I have not a copy of the history, nor do I know Dr. Burn's handwriting; but it seems to me very probable that it was then he who wrote the endorsement on the deed which states it to be one of Gospatrik, giving soc and sac and toll and team to Thorfin mac Thore.—July 1st, 1904.

[The deed was known much earlier; see Nicolson and Burn, ii., p. 317:—" In one of the copies of the (Denton) manuscript which Bishop Nicolson says was lent to him *by Mr. Bird of Brougham* in 1708, is the following pedigree:

1. *Thor*, lord of the manor.
2. *Thorpin de Cardew*."

On Mr. Bird and a document in his possession, see these *Transactions*, N.S., iii., p. 4.—ED.]



THE BOWMAN STONE AT YANWATH.

TO FACE P. 85.

ART VI. — *On Armorial Stones at Yanwath and Barton Church.* By FRANCIS HASWELL, M.D.

Read at Carlisle, April 19th, 1904.

LAST summer Col. Westmorland, of the Grotto, Yanwath, drew my attention to a stone in his garden with a shield of arms on it. It had evidently been placed there after the wall was built and without much obvious reason. The puzzle was, whose arms were recorded and where had the stone come from? A little investigation and cleaning of the stone showed that the salient point of the shield was three bows. We have a local family of Bowman, represented by Mr. William Bowman, of Askham, and on applying to him I found he had a book-plate with the identical arms, as borne by Thomas Bowman, of Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards master at Hawkshead, from whom the estate at Askham was inherited. The arms are:—Or. on a chevron gules, three ermine spots between three bows ppr. Crest, on a mount vert, the stump of a tree ppr., around the upper part a belt, therefrom pendant on the dexter side a quiver all or, filled with arrows arg. Motto: Regem et legem arcu defendo.

Through the kindness of Mr. Richard Bowman Brockbank, I find that the stone was brought to the Grotto by Thomas Wilkinson (the Quaker friend of Wordsworth and Eliz. Smith, of Coniston), from Low Close, in Askham parish, probably at the time it was sold to the Lowthers, about 1840. There are evidences that it was over the doorway at Low Close above a stone inscribed:—

R. B.
(Richard Bowman.)
A.D., 1759.

but as the walls have been covered with rough-cast, the indications are not quite clear.

The family of Bowman has been living at Askham as far back as the Askham registers go (1566) with a branch at Helton. They do not appear to be connected with the Bowmans of Brampton, whose arms are probably of the type of which the late Chancellor Ferguson wrote ("Heraldry of the Cumberland States men," these *Transactions*, xii., art. vii.).

The family at Askham has a tradition that their forebears were foresters of Martindale, and it may well be so, but I can obtain no definite evidence on the point. About the year 1700, Thomas Bowman took to wife Eleanor Law, of a family which is probably related to Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle (Miss Noble's *History of Bampton*), and ultimately the estate of the Laws passed to the Bowman family. As showing the value of chattels at that time the following inventory, taken on the death of Thomas Bowman, may be of interest.

A true inventorie of all & singular the goods & chattels & credits of Thomas Bowman, late of Askham in the County of Westmorland, deceased, taken & apprized this fifth day of October, 1724, by us whose names are underwritten:

		lb	s	d
Impr.	His horse, saddle, purse and & apparel	20	00	0
Item.	Brass & pewter	05	00	0
„	Wood vessel	01	00	0
„	A clock & a case	02	10	0
„	Two cubbarts, a table, 5 chairs a forme	04	00	0
„	Bedding & Bedsteads	15	00	0
„	Five chestes	01	10	0
„	Two arks	01	02	0
„	A fleshe tub	00	10	0
„	Meal and malt	03	16	0
„	30 stone of wool at 3 shillings a stone	04	10	0
„	Corn & Hay	40	10	0
„	17 Black Cattle & four horses	42	00	0
„	Two hundred & twenty sheep, old & young	35	00	0
„	Carts & wheels & husbandry gear	06	10	0

„	A swine	00	10	0
„	(undecipherable)	01	00	0
„	Butter & cheese	01	12	0
„	Poultry	00	10	0
	Debts owing to the deceased	01	10	0
		℔	s	d
	Sum of the inventory	188	00	0
	Debts owing by the deceased	40	10	0
		℔	s	d
	Rests due	147	10	0

Names of apprizrs. Henry Smith
John Law
Thomas Law's mark ×
Richard Bowman.

The family patrimony was divided in 1777 by Richard Bowman between his two sons, the Law's part ultimately coming to the Rev. Thomas Bowman, who was for many years the master of the Grammar School at Hawkshead, where the following inscription is placed to his memory—

"In memory of the Revd. Thomas Bowman, A.M., Head Master of the free Grammar School of this place, upwards of forty-two years. He closed a useful life the XIV day of June, MDCCCXXIX, aged LXVIII years. Also Margaret his wife, who died the VI day of January, MDCCCXLI, aged LXXIV years." (*Monumental Inscriptions of Hawkshead*, by H. S. Cowper, F.S.A.)

Mr. Cowper also states that he was a benefactor of the school about 1789, and that it was on his suggestion that every scholar subscribed annually 5s. to the library and presented a book or books on leaving school. He became the owner of Grisdale Old Hall (*Hawkshead, its History, &c.*).

His son dying unmarried, left the estate to the present owner, Mr. William Bowman.

When the estate of Low Close came into the family I cannot state, but it was evidently left to Richard the son of Richard, in 1777, and sold by his granddaughter, Mrs. Brockbank, about 1840, to the Lowthers.

Shield of Arms at Barton Church.

On the east side of the porch at Barton Church is an interesting shield of arms, concerning which some small error has arisen. It is supposed, and probably is, the armorial bearing of the family of Hartsop, of Hartsop in Patterdale. Nothing definite appears to be known about this family, and I have never come across the name except in Nicolson and Burn, who state that one of the Lancasters of Sockbridge, married an heiress of that family and quartered their arms. This is no doubt correct, in that the family of Lancaster did quarter these arms, but the name may not have been Hartsop. The small error I wish to correct is that the arms are incorrectly given in all the local books, and always without the tinctures. On carefully examining the shield, three cross crosslets are plainly visible between the tynes of the stag's horns, and in the visitation of Westmorland, 1615, the arms are given as arg. three stags' heads cabossed surmounted with cross crosslets fitcheé gules.

ART VII.—*On the Readers in the Chapelries of the Lake District.* By the BISHOP OF BARROW-IN-FURNESS, President.

Read at Carlisle, April 19th, 1904.

THERE is much discussion at the present time with regard to an increase in the use of lay readers in the Church of England; but few people seem to be aware how extensively they were employed in certain parts of the country till comparatively modern times.

In 1559, Archbishop Parker issued an "Order for serving Cures now destitute." * It appears that many livings were at that time vacant, through deprivation, destitution, and other causes, particularly the death of many clergy in the sickness of the previous year. According to the Archbishop's Order, an incumbent might be instituted to several Cures, and might depute a deacon or reader to read the Service; he was not to christen, marry or minister Holy Communion; not to preach, but only to read the Service of the day, with the Litany and a Homily, in the absence of the principal pastor, who was to go in circuit to his parishes. Lectors or readers were not to be appointed but by the oversight of the Bishop or his Chancellor, and were to be removable on their disability or disorder by certificate or proof thereof. The expedient had but a moderate success.

Richard Baxter, born in 1615, says that in the village near Shrewsbury where he was brought up, there were four readers successively in six years' time, ignorant men, who were all his schoolmasters.†

* See Canon R. W. Dixon's *History of the Church of England*, Vol. V., pp. 194-197. He cites Strype's *Life of Parker*, Book II., Chapters 2 and 4, from which some additional details are given.

† Baxter did not mean that these were his only schoolmasters (for he mentions other teachers), but that all these were his masters.

This has been sometimes cited as an example of the employment of lay readers. But a reference to the original* proves that by 'readers' Baxter meant clergymen duly ordained (or professing to be so ordained, for some of them possessed forged letters of orders), but not competent or not licensed to preach. Instances of this use of the word 'reader' will be found in the latter part of my paper.

The employment of lay readers seems to have soon died out in most parts of England. But in the chapelries of the Lake country they were continued through a great part of the 18th century. In Chancellor Ferguson's *History of the Diocese of Carlisle* (p. 173), he writes:—

> Among the difficulties the Bishops have had to contend with are, of course, the inadequacy of the stipends and the largeness of some of the parishes, many of which, in addition to the mother church, contained several chapelries: the sole endowment of these chapelries was a few shillings, which the inhabitants had at some remote period agreed to charge upon their estates. In consequence of their poverty these chapelries were served by unordained persons, called 'readers,' but in the time of George II.† the Bishops (Carlisle and Chester) came to a resolution that no one should officiate who was not in deacon's orders. The existing readers (one of whom is described as clogger, tailor, and butter-print maker) were ordained without examination.

Again he writes (p. 181):—

> Prior to the Reformation, sufficient provision was made for the maintenance of a celibate curate, often sent from some monastic house, if there was one, as at St. Bees, interested in the mother church. But after the Reformation, with the introduction of a married clergy, and the fall in the purchasing power of money, the salaries became insufficient, and the unordained readers we have already spoken of were all that could be obtained.

Chancellor Ferguson gives no authority for these state-

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* *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, London, 1692, pp. 1 and 2.

† He reigned from 1727 to 1760.

ments; but they are clearly taken in part from Southey's *Colloquies*, Vol. II., p. 66.* He says:—

An increase of the clergy proportionate to the increase of the people is still wanting. But the first steps have been taken towards this necessary measure; and something has also been done towards training up a supply of clergy for those remoter parts of the country where the Cures are miserably poor and the peasantry are the only inhabitants. Such Cures were held in these northern counties by unordained persons till about the middle of George II's reign, when the Bishops came to a resolution that no one should officiate who was not in holy orders. But, because there would have been some injustice and some hardship in ejecting the existing incumbents, they were admitted to deacon's orders without undergoing any examination. The person who was thus reader, as it was called, at yonder Chapel in the Vale of Newlands, and who received this kind of ordination, exercised the various trades of Taylor, Clogger and Butter-print maker.

Southey probably derived his information from local tradition. The "*Colloquies*" were published in 1829; he came to reside at Keswick in 1803, and thus he may even have known persons who themselves remembered the butter-print maker of Newlands. I have tried to obtain from other sources more information as to these readers and the circumstances under which they ceased to officiate.

It will be remembered that the diocese of Carlisle at that time included only a part of the Lake country: South Westmorland, South-west Cumberland, and Furness were then in the diocese of Chester.

The Episcopal Register at Carlisle contains a "true and perfect List of all the Rectories and Vicarages in the Diocese of Carlile not exceeding the sum of fifty Pounds in their yearly improved value," thirty-seven in number, with their respective incomes. The list is signed by Bishop Nicolson, and dated Dec. 12, 1707: it is apparently the

* I am indebted for this reference to Mr. J. C. Hodgson: see his *History of Northumberland*, Vol. IV., pp. 79, 80. He there mentions the fact that there was a reader at Allendale, in 1662 and 1664, but no other instances appear to be recorded in Northumberland.

return mentioned in the Bishop's Diary (June 12th, 1705) as ordered by the Commissioners of Queen Anne's Bounty, which was founded in 1704. Before 1750, ten of these were augmented by Q. A. B.* In this list of Bishop Nicolson, perpetual curacies—such as St. Mary's and St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle, Hayton, Hesket, Lanercost—were not included.

The Episcopal Register also contains "an Account of Perpetual Curacies, etc., within the Diocese of Carlisle transmitted under the hand of the Lord Bishop of Carlisle aforesaid (Sir George Fleming) to the Governours of the Bounty of Queen Anne, Jan. 26. 1739," with the details of their income. They are forty-eight in number: twenty-one are described as "Parochial Churches," two (Threlkeld and Newton) as "Curacies with Parochial Rights," twenty-five as "Chapelries" in specified Parishes.

The following note is added:—

N.B. All the Chapelries above mentioned are entirely distinct from their respective Mother Churches, and the Parishes are so very large, and many of them situated in such mountainous parts, that there is the greatest occasion to have distinct curates settled in them all, as there indeed constantly are in most of them, except the five last, (Borrowdale, St. John's in the Vale, Newlands, Wythburn and Nichol Forest). And yet their situation is such that none can require it more were the salaries sufficient for their maintenance. Nor have the rectors or vicars of the above mentioned Mother Churches any advantages from the said Chapelries, except with regard to some of them a right of nomination, which with respect to many of them is in the inhabitants.

It does not appear that any chapelry in the diocese had been augmented by Q. A. B. "by lot" before the year 1737, though four had been augmented to meet benefactions, viz., St. John's (in the Vale) in Crosthwaite Parish in 1716, Mallerstang in Kirkby Stephen in 1719, Stainmoor in Brough in 1720, and St. Mary's, Carlisle, in

* See Account of Queen Anne's Bounty, by Christopher Hodgson, 1855.

1731. But between 1737 and 1753 nearly all the poorer chapelries were thus augmented, and some of them more than once.

Now, when the endowment of any chapelry was augmented by Q. A. B., it became (under the Act 1 Geo. I., chap. 10, secs. 4 and 5), a "perpetual curacy," *i.e.*, the minister officiating in it could no longer be displaced at will, nor could the incumbent of the Mother Church take the endowment and discharge the duties himself. It appears, then, that about the middle of the 18th century this change was effected in nearly all the chapelries in the diocese of Carlisle. It was not quite sudden, but took place chiefly during the episcopate of Sir George Fleming (1734 to 1747). He was of a Westmorland family, well acquainted with the district, had been for many years Archdeacon of Carlisle, and was an able, energetic man: it may, therefore, be presumed that he was largely concerned in the matter and systematically ordained the readers, or replaced them by deacons, with a view to the augmentation of the chapelries by Q. A. B.

Of the twenty-five mentioned above, Culgaith in Kirkland is called an "ancient chapelry"; and we know from other sources that in 1558 Watermillock in Greystoke, in 1580 Matterdale in Greystoke, in 1728 Mardale in Bampton had been constituted "parochial chapelries" through the formal grant of certain rights by the Bishop.

I think that the formal consecration of a chapel, or the lack of such consecration, did not enter into the question whether a reader, or only an ordained minister, could take the services in it. Some chapels of ease had been consecrated, as Troutbeck; some "parochial chapels" had not, as Matterdale.* But, so far as I have been able to ascertain from the Diocesan Register, or from any other

* See Nicolson and Burn's *Cumberland*, p. 371.—The grant of parochial rights in 1580, says:—"We do not doubt but that He (The Almighty) hath already sanctified and hallowed the said chapel and churchyard through the prayers of the faithful made therein and the preaching of His most blessed Word."

source, "parochial churches" and "parochial chapelries" were always served by ordained ministers, except for some temporary reason. Thus, William Taylor, literate, was licensed reader at Allhallows, Nov. 14, 1743, but he was ordained deacon May 20, 1744, and, according to Whellan's *History of Cumberland*, he was incumbent 1743 to 1754. In 1726 Thos. Baxter was licensed as reader and schoolmaster at Mardale; but in 1728 (when it was made "parochial") he was ordained deacon and licensed as curate. In December, 1741, Bartholomew Hayes, schoolmaster at Measand, was licensed as reader at Mardale, but he was ordained deacon in September, 1742.

In nine of the other chapels of ease, viz., Martindale, Patterdale, Stainmoor, Wreay, Raughtonhead, Soulby, Milburn, Temple Sowerby, and Bolton (several of which were a little better endowed), I have observed no trace of readers. There remain twelve, viz., Armathwaite, the five chapels in Crosthwaite parish, Highhead, Mungrisdale, Nichol Forest, Mallerstang, Thrimby, Swindale. These supply a good deal of information.

The readers were often, but not always, the schoolmasters. The licenses granted to them are sometimes, but not always, recorded in the Diocesan Register. In the earlier part of the 18th century, curates appear occasionally as serving the chapelries for a time, but it will be observed that before or about the middle of the century, readers were replaced by deacons throughout the district, and generally just about the time of an augmentation by Q. A. B. These are often described at their ordination as having been the readers; they generally remained deacons, being hardly ever ordained priests on the titles of their chapelries; in the few instances of their being made priests they had become assistant curates of parish churches. All this tends to confirm Southey's account of the change.

I add some details :—

(1) Armathwaite, in the parish of St. Mary, Carlisle,

was built (or rebuilt) in 1668 (N. & B.); value in 1739, £5 10s., augmented by Q. A. B. in 1745. On Feb. 27, 174$\frac{2}{3}$, Joseph Parker, reader at Armathwaite, was ordained deacon. W. Todhunter, literate, was licensed reader at Armathwaite, Feb. 2, 174$\frac{3}{4}$, and ordained deacon Oct. 21, 1744. In 1749, William Kirkbride, literate, was ordained deacon, and nominated to Armathwaite.

The five chapels in Crosthwaite parish are described in the Miscellany Account of the diocese of Carlisle by Bishop Nicolson (1702-18). They were then all served by readers. After a detailed account of their endowments, he adds :—

As mean as these salaries look, the readers in these dales are commonly more rich than the curates (much better provided for in appearance) in other parts of the diocese; having the Advantage of Drawing Bills, Bonds, Conveyances, Wills, etc., which the Attornies elsewhere claim as their property. But, since the Duty of Stamp'd Paper came into Fashion, their revenues are much abated in this Article.

(2) Borrowdale (in Bishop Nicolson's time and in 1739, £3 5s.) was augmented by Q. A. B. in 1743 and in 1753. John Mason, reader in Borrowdale, was ordained deacon in 1744, presumably in consequence of the augmentation by Q. A. B. In 1750, John Harrison, literate, was ordained deacon and nominated to Borrowdale.

(3) St. John's (in the Vale) was, in Bishop Nicolson's account, £5 1s., and in 1717 £4 17s. 6d., when it was augmented by Dr. Gaskarth, the inhabitants, and Q. A. B. In 1718, William Richardson was ordained deacon, and licensed curate and schoolmaster of St. John's in Crosthwaite. This also followed closely upon the augmentation through Q. A. B.

(4) Newlands (in Bishop Nicolson's time, £2 15s. 1d.; in 1739, £2 11s. 7d.) was augmented by Q. A. B. in 1748 and in 1750. In 1730, John Milner, literate, was ordained deacon and licensed as curate, but in 1733 he was licensed as curate of Milburn, and between 1733 and 1749 I find

no trace of a curate. In 1749, Joseph Fisher was ordained deacon and nominated to Newlands. He may possibly have been the "butterprint-maker."

(5) Thornthwaite (in Bishop Nicolson's time, £5 1s. 8d. and in 1739 only £2 16s, 8d.) was augmented 1747 and 1749. In 1748, Thos. Addison, literate, was ordained deacon and nominated to Thornthwaite.

(6) Wythburn (in Bishop Nicolson's time £3 8s. 2d., in 1739 £3 16s. 10d.) was augmented 1745. James Wayles, of Wythburn, was ordained deacon 1726 and licensed as curate and schoolmaster. In 1748, Wm. Romney was ordained deacon and nominated to Wythburn, and in 1751 John Mallison, of Wythburn, was ordained deacon.

(7) Of Highhead, in Dalston parish, valued in 1739 at £13, Nicolson and Burn say that a license was granted in 1358 to build a chapel and have a chaplain, but that it had never been made parochial: they christened and buried at the mother church, and holy communion was administered at the chapel by the vicar (of Dalston) every Maundy Thursday. In Bishop Nicolson's time there was sometimes a curate at Highhead, sometimes a reader. On June 7, 1707, it appears by the bishop's register that Wm. Pool, A.M., deacon, was licensed as curate and schoolmaster, but he did not remain there, for on Aug. 7, 1707, the bishop records in his diary, "Mr Kanier, wth ye new reader of High-Head, who was sent, with a Letter, to sue for Mrs Miller's concurrence"; and on October 1, 1707, Sam. Relph (literate) was licensed schoolmaster and reader. He was afterwards, in 1726, ordained deacon as curate of Allhallows. In 1713, Bernard Barton was licensed as reader and schoolmaster, and in 1715 Bernard Barton, of Ivegill, was ordained deacon; no fresh license was issued to him. In 1721 Wm. Miles was ordained deacon and licensed as schoolmaster and curate. In 1724 the bishop's register contains a nomination by the trustees of High-Head chapel of Isaac Wilson to be schoolmaster

and reader: this is followed by the bishop's certificate that he had subscribed the declaration prescribed in the Act of Uniformity. On June 10, 1745, Joseph Hudson, M.A., was licensed as curate; on Sept. 23, 1745, Joseph Blaine, clerk, was licensed; in 1746 Thomas Stack, literate, was ordained deacon; and in 1749, John Scott, literate; he was ordained priest in 1752. This and Mungrisdale (mentioned below) are the only cases which I have noticed at that period of such a chapelry giving a title to priest's orders.

(8) Mungrisdale, in Greystoke parish, was returned in 1739 at £5 14s. 11d., and was augmented in 1740. Apparently it was not parochial, though it had a curate. In 1719 William Robinson was ordained deacon and licensed as curate and schoolmaster. In 1742 Daniel Watson was ordained deacon and licensed as curate, but in 174¾ Thos. Holme, literate, was licensed as reader. This may be noticed as an exceptional case occurring after the augmentation by Q. A. B. Henry Robinson was ordained deacon in 1749, and nominated to Mungrisdale. He was ordained priest in 1753, still at Mungrisdale.

(9) The return made in 1739 stated that the endowment of Nicholforest had been quite lost, but the chapel was in repair. The rector of Kirkandrews performed service once a month, though the inhabitants could not oblige him to attend there. In 1744 it was augmented by Q. A. B., and in 1746 Geo. Story, literate, was ordained deacon and licensed as curate. He was ordained priest in 1749, but was then at Lanercost. In 1748 John Hewitt, literate, was ordained deacon and nominated to Nicholforest, and in 1750 William Graham.

(10) The endowment of Mallerstang in 1739 was £8. According to Nicolson and Burn it had lain waste fifty or sixty years, and was repaired by the Countess of Pembroke in 1663. She gave an endowment "for maintenance of a person qualified to read prayers and the homilies of the Church of England, and to teach the children of Maller-

stang to read and write English in the chapel there." It was augmented by Q. A. B. in 1719 to meet a benefaction by the Earl of Thanet.

In the earlier part of the 18th century there was sometimes a reader, sometimes a curate. In 1705 Chr. Powley, deacon, was licensed as curate and schoolmaster. On Nov. 19, 1707, Bishop Nicolson notes in his diary, "Mr. Rowlandson (pretended reader and schoolmaster of Mallerstang) wth several extraordinary Addresses for a Licence; but wanting Mr Atkinson's* Recommendation, he was sent back." In 1707 John Potter, deacon, was licensed as curate; in 1713 Wm. Langhorne, literate, was licensed as reader and schoolmaster, though in 1711 he had been ordained deacon: he was ordained priest in 1714, but was then of the diocese of York. In 1756 Jeffery Bowness, literate, was ordained deacon, for Mallerstang.

(11) Thrimby, in Morland parish, according to Nicolson and Burn, had been in decay, and was restored and endowed in 1681 for a chapel and an English and grammar school to be taught in the chapel, a curate and schoolmaster to be chosen by the trustees. In 1739 the value was £10 a year, and it was augmented by Q. A. B. in 1741. On Oct. 8, 1741, William Fleming, literate, was licensed as reader, and on Sept. 19, 1742, he was ordained deacon and licensed as curate. In 1749 Rd. Powley, literate, was ordained deacon and nominated to Thrimby.

(12) Concerning Swindale, in Shap parish, Nicolson and Burn say: "At this place is a small chapel, which was built by the inhabitants to answer the purpose both of school and chapel. There was a small endowment for a schoolmaster, and he was permitted to read prayers on Sundays." In 1739 the value was £9 a year, and it was augmented by Q. A. B. in 1744. It is stated in the *Transactions* of our Society, N.S., vol. i., p. 261, that from 1730 through the 18th century, a literate was generally ap-

* Vicar of Kirkby Stephen.

pointed to the school, and nominated as reader and ordained deacon.

On Oct. 14, 1742, John Lancaster was licensed as reader at Swindale; he was ordained deacon Feb. 27, 174$\frac{2}{3}$. In 1750 Henry Harrison, literate, was ordained deacon and nominated to Swindale.

It may be well to give some examples of readers' licenses from the Register:—

Sam Relph Lector et Ludimag^{r} de Highead — Primo die Octobris Anno Dni 1707^{0} Licentia comissa est Samueli Relph Lrato ad erudiend. pueros et publice perlegend. preces in Capella de Highead in Com. Cumb. (et infra parochia de Dalston) subscriptis prius per se Articulis et declarac'one p. Statut. requisit.

Guil. Langhorne Lector et Ludimag^{r} de Mallerstang — Vicesimo secundo die Junii 1713 com'ssa est Licentia Gulielmo Langhorne Lrato ad publice perlegend' preces in Capellâ de Mallerstang in Com. Westmld (modo ne Sacram^{a} aut Sacramentalia ministret &c.) nec non ad docend' et erudiend' pueros et adolescentes in liberâ Scholâ de Mallerstang prd: subscript. prius p. se Ar'lis et declarat'one &c.

On the eighth day of October 1741 William Fleming, a literate person was admitted and licensed to read Prayers and Homilies in the Chapel of Thrimby in the Parish of Morland in the Diocese of Carlisle by the Feoffees of the said chapelry, he the said William Fleming having first subscribed all and singular the Articles and taken all and every the oaths by Law in this behalf required before the Lord Bishop of Carlisle in the presence of me Jos. Nicolson Not. Pub. Register.

I turn to the Diocese of Chester, as then existing. As regards that northern part of Lancashire which is now comprised in the diocese of Carlisle, my information is chiefly derived from the *Notitia Cestriensis* of Bishop Gastrell* (1714-1725). I have not been able myself to

* He was succeeded by Samuel Peploe (1726-1752).

examine the episcopal registers at Chester. I have observed in the *Notitia Cestriensis* no trace of readers in Cheshire, or in Lancashire * outside Furness.

In the Furness district, however, the case was different. There were many chapelries, and we find much the same state of things as in the diocese of Carlisle, though here we frequently find the name "reader" applied to a deacon not licensed to preach, or to a person in holy orders, if he officiated in a chapel endowed for or usually served by a reader.

In Cartmel parish there were four chapelries, viz., Cartmel Fell, Flookburgh, Lindall (*i.e.* Lindale near Grange), and Staveley in Cartmel. In 1695, £200 was given by the will of B. Fletcher, for the maintenance of four schoolmasters and readers, at the four chapels in Cartmel parish.

At Cartmel Fell, in 1650, Mr. John Brooke, "an old malignant," had been "the minister." The master was "always ye Reader of ye Chappell," and elected by the inhabitants; and his salary was £2 10s., "same with that given to the curate by Fletcher."

On March 13th, 1714, Bishop Nicolson (acting for the Bishop of Chester) ordained deacon, at Kendal, George Walker of Cartmel Fell; and in 1722, Bishop Gastrell noted that "£41 is in ye hands of ye minister." But there was a legacy to the curate (*i.e.*, probably the curate of Cartmel) for administering the sacrament once a year. On the whole, therefore, I conclude that Cartmel Fell was at that time usually served by a deacon, acting also as schoolmaster, and receiving the stipend as reader.

At Flookburgh, there had been in 1650 "neither endowment nor minister"; at Lindal "no minister nor maintenance, though a place of great necessity for both." Probably, therefore, in Bishop Gastrell's time there were only readers, if any regular provision was made.

* There is one doubtful exception, Rigby or Ribby-cum-Wray. "The Chappel was built at ye expense of ye inhabitants: and 'tis intended y^t^ the Schoolmaster should officiate there till some Endowm^t^ can be procured. Certified Anno 1724." The chapel was built about the year 1715, but not consecrated until 1757.

Staveley, in 1717, was "served by a priest licensed to to the said chapel."

There were curates at the following chapels, Finsthwaite in Colton parish, Rampside, Ireleth, and Walney in Dalton parish, Satterthwaite in Hawkshead, and Broughton in Kirkby Ireleth.

At Seathwaite, in the parish of Kirkby Ireleth, in 1777, there was a "reader" also called "curate," but only a deacon, for the curate of Broughton administered the sacrament three times a year.

At Woodland in Kirkby Ireleth, there had been a reader in 1650, and in 1717 there is no mention of a curate.

The chapelries in Ulverston parish were Blawith, Coniston, Lowick, and Torver. Bishop Gastrell says, "The Vicar (of Ulverston) administered ye Sacraments in ye Chappells on several holidayes in ye yeare." "The curates of ye several Chappels (who teach school) have only twelve pence p. quarter." Blawith had a reader in 1650; they desired to be made parochial and to have an endowment for a minister, but apparently this had not been done. In 1715, "33 out of 43 elected a young man whose name is W. R., for our Reader and Schoolmaster, and we are well contented with him: a few had elected Thos. Fell, who on that title had been ordained deacon at the Bishop of Carlisle's last ordination* in the absence of Bishop Gastrell." The petitioners desired that the bishop would not grant a license. But Bishop Gastrell writes that in 1717 it was secured by an industrious and learned curate: therefore, probably Thomas Fell's supporters carried their point.

Coniston was consecrated and made parochial in 1586, and had a minister in 1717: Lowick and Torver had curates.

I come now to those parts of Cumberland and Westmorland which were in the diocese of Chester. The part of Bishop Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis*, which deals with

* The Carlisle register does not record his ordination.

them, has not yet been printed. Our own society has the work in hand, under the editorship of Mr. W. N. Thompson: he has kindly supplied me with some notes taken from other MSS. in the Chester registry: these are denoted by the letter T. I have consulted a transcript (not quite complete) of this part of the *Notitia* belonging to the Rev, J. Wilson, and have supplemented it from Nicolson and Burn's history of the Counties.

That portion of Cumberland which was in the Chester diocese formed the deanery of Coupland. In the south of it, the parishes were small; there were few chapelries, and (so far as I have observed) no readers. Towards the north, the great parish of St. Bees contained Whitehaven, Ennerdale, Eskdale, Nether Wasdale, Wasdale Head and Loweswater; but these were sometimes accounted separate parishes, and had ordained clergy (Nicolson and Burn).

In 1705, Eskdale was supplied by a "preaching curate," Thomas Parker (T).

In 1705, Nicholas Dixon, reader, certified concerning Nether Wasdale, "The full yearly value of all the profitts belong [sic] to the Chappel of Neither Wasdale in the p'ish of St. Bees. . . . is not above the sum of five pounds . . . it is . . . a poore chapellery & is supplied by a Reader deacken" [*sic*] (T). It is not surprising to find that in 1686 Nicholas Dixon had been licensed reader for Nether Wasdale, but not ordained deacon till 1693, "in doctrina et scientia mediocri p. necessitate Eccl'iæ cui inserviturus est admissus." (T).

In 1684, Patricius Curwen, on being admitted curate of Loweswater, showed his letters of deacon's orders from the Bishop of Carlisle in 1673. In 1705 the churchwardens certified that it was not above the value of £4 10s. 6d.; that it was supplied by a reader, but vacant at present (T).

In Brigham parish, Cockermouth had under it the subordinate chapelries of Embleton and Secmurthy. The certified value of Embleton in 1717 was only £2 per annum, arising from £40 raised by the inhabitants out of

their estates for a reader. It was augmented by Q. A, B. in 1748. In 1705, Lorton (also in Brigham parish) was certified by Patricius Curwen, reader, to be supplied by a reader. In both cases "lecturer" had been written by Patricius Curwen, and crossed out by him, and "reader" substituted. (T). We have already seen that he was in deacon's orders. Lorton had under it the two chapels of Buttermere and Wythropp, served by readers, except that the curate of Lorton preached at each three or four times yearly. Wythropp was augmented by Q. A. B. in 1738; Buttermere in 1748,

In Workington parish, Clifton had formerly a reader and teacher, and the rector of Workington officiated every fourth Sunday; but in 1717 this had not been done for forty years, and the chapel was in ruins. It was augmented by Q. A. B. in 1733.

In Westmorland apparently all the chapelries in the great parish of Kendal were always served by curates. In 1705, John Alexander, curate of Kentmere, certified that it was "supplied by a reader of the Common Prayer and Homilies of the Church of England." (T). In 1705, Tho. Sommers, curate of Selside, certified that it was "supplied by a reading curate," and William Harrison, curate of Staveley in Kendal, certified the same (T).

In these cases "reader" or "reading curate" are clearly contrasted with "preaching curate."

In Heversham parish, Crosthwaite was an ancient chapelry, made parochial in 1556, and had a priest (Nicolson and Burn).

In Windermere parish, Troutbeck had been consecrated in 1562 for a reader and schoolmaster, but in 1639 there was a curate, not necessarily teaching the school (Nicolson and Burn). It was augmented by Q. A. B. in 1747.

Ambleside chapelry, partly in Windermere and partly in Grasmere, was made parochial in 1675, and had a curate.

For Langdale, in Grasmere parish, in 1691 "Gulielmus

Sawrey, lector, exhibuit facultatem ad legendum preces publicas (Absolutione exceptâ)," dated 1671. He had also been licensed as schoolmaster in 1671. In 1705 he was still at Langdale, and certified that it was "supplied by a reader of the Common Prayer and Homilies of the Church." (T)

In Kirkby Lonsdale parish, Killington was made parochial in 1585, and was served by a priest. According to the grant of parochial rights, the services were to be made by "a minister or curate lawfully ordained." It was augmented in 1733. Middleton was consecrated in 1635, and from the first had "a preaching minister." It was made parochial in 1671, and (according to Bishop Gastrell) was served by a priest. It was augmented in 1732. Firbank, augmented by Q. A. B. in 1721, was served by a deacon; in 1705 it had been certified by William Lancaster the curate, as "supplied by one y^t reads prayers." (T) Hutton Roof was ancient but not parochial (Nicolson and Burn). It was served by a deacon,* and was augmented in 1743. At Barbon there was "no preaching minister, but ye inhabitants hire a minister to teach school in ye chapel. There is one bell to toll when there is divine service." It was augmented by Q. A. B. in 1738. There was an endowment for "a curate or schoolmaster." (Nicolson and Burn.)

It will be seen that the information thus obtained with regard to the chapelries in the northern parts of the diocese of Chester, is rather less full and complete than for the diocese of Carlisle. But, so far as it goes, it is consistent with the general conclusion that "parochial chapelries" were as a rule served by ordained clergy; that "chapelries" (simple) were in the earlier half of the 18th century often

* It appears from the parish register of Kirkby Lonsdale that in 1717, Mr. Park was "reader" at Hutton Roof chapel; but in 1718, 1720, and at his burial in 1722, he is called "curate of Hutton Roof." In 1716 he is called "Joseph Park, clerk, of Hutton Roof." Possibly a lay reader might be called "clerk." But more probably, though in 1717 only called "reader," he was already in deacon's orders.

served by readers (though these were less frequently laymen in the diocese of Chester than in that of Carlisle); that formal consecration, or the lack of it, did not necessarily affect the question whether a reader was employed; and that the systematic use of readers died out a little before the middle of the 18th century.

ART VIII.—*The Quaker-Jesuite.* By the Rev. LEWIS HEATHERINGTON.

Read at Carlisle, April 19th, 1904.

THE Quakers from the first years of their rise in the middle of the seventeenth century down to the forties in our own era, have been noted for their resistance towards the payment of tithes and other church dues. They have in many cases preserved a very full account of all the imprisonments and distraints which they suffered from this refusal to obey what they considered an unholy law, and many of the registers, or *Books of Sufferings*, which they compiled in those days, still survive. The present writer, in looking through one of the earlier books of sufferings still preserved in the archives of the Kendal Meeting House, came across a curious account of the differences between the first Westmorland Quakers and William Brownsword, who is recorded to have held the living of Kendal from 1659 to 1672.

His first recorded altercation with the Quakers is thus ingenuously set forth by the Quaker scribe:—

Here follows some of the sufferings of ffriends belonging to Grayrigge Meeting, part whereof were about the yeare 1661.

William Brownsword, priest of Kendall, demanded of Peter Moser of Grayrigge, an Easter reckoning, which was but a very small matter. Peter answered he could give him none,—life and Land and all first. Soon after, the said Peter was arrested by A Bayliffe (vizt.) Richard Ridley of Kendall, and carried to priest Brownsword's house, who said: "Peter, thou said 'Life and Land and all first,' what wilt thou do now?" Peter told him he was of the same mind then as he was before. The priest said again, "If thou wilt pay the Charges I will loose my dues. Peter told him he never owed him anything, neither had he (vizt. the priest) ever done anything for him, what then could he claim as his due? The priest said it was his own fault, then, that would not come to hear him. Peter told

him he was no minister of Christ. The priest said, "Thou judgest not justly, thou never camest to hear me." Peter asked him whether ever any Minister of Christ did Imprison any as he had done, and bid him take his bible, and looke from the beginning to the End thereof, and see if he could find and shew him that ever true Minister of Christ had done as he had done. Then the Priest laid his Bible away and said he would have it by law; And then by the Priest's Order the Bayliffe took him away to prison to James Sutton's house in Kendall. And after a while, his Mother (shee being none of the people called Quakers), without his knowledge agreed with the said Priest and gave him 40 shillings, which when Peter was told did so exceedingly trouble him that he was past his Ordinary food.

Thus, though Priest Brownsword is held to have been worsted in argument by his Quaker parishioner, his is the financial triumph. This is not his only contest with the Quakers. His name and further records against him appear in the same *Book of Sufferings*, but not until some ten years later. A much fuller account of this litigious vicar is there given and is very interesting. Here is the Quakers' indictment brought against him, and even this, as we shall show, omits a curious attack made by him against them.

In the year 1671 William Brownsword, priest of Kendall, who formerly had served at Preston in Lancashire, and there was a Leading Man amongst the Presbyterians in Oliver's days, and set forth a large book called *Room's Convictions*, wherein he railed much against the Cavalliers as he called them, saying they were the parliament's greatest Enemies, yet when the King came to his Chrown this priest fac'd about, and tooke the Bishop's Orders, and became an Episcopalian, though he had formerly taken the Solemn League and Covenants. Now this priest being settled in the Vicarage at Kendall he sued severall of the people called Quakers in the Ecclesiasticall Court at Richmond for small Tyths and Easter Reckonings, and these three, vizt. Miles Bateman senior, Robert Barrow, and John ffell, all of Kendall, He cast into prison. [A footnote appended reads as follows: "When the Bayliffe Robert Wilkinson came to Robert Barrow's house to Arrest him, Robert was sick under a Course of Physick and therefore desired the Bayliffe to spare him till next day; so the Bayliffe seeing him very ill went to the priest and desired him yt Robert Barrow might be let alone till

ye morrow, but the priest being Angry said he should go forth with to Goal, except he would pay or some for him; the Bayliffe said it would endanger his life howbeit they run the hazard and carried him."] Miles Bateman was in prison 3 weeks then was released, John Archer of Kendall haveing made some agreement for him with the priest; but the other two remained in prison 9 weeks in which time being Informed that the priest had proceeded Illegally against them in not giving them personall Summons they appealed to the Ecclesiasticall Court at York, and removed their cause thither to be determined and became plaintiffs, and were set at liberty dureing the said appeale, and were likely to recover charges of the priest;

But when the priest came to York, and made a Great Complaint to the officers of the Court, and more especially to Tho. Burwell called Docter who was willing to pleasure the priest; as appeared by Jeremiah Waddington their Procter, who told them that Doctour Burwell had informed the priest that if they were such men as would not sweare, And if he would take a certain Oath which he named, then except they would take the same Oath they could not recover charges against him; so the priest being willing to pollute his Conscience, rather than Impoverish his purse, took the said Oath (Jurament. Collum) swearing that his proceedings against them were just and Legall: And then brought Citations to summon them to go take the like Oath, or else they must be in a Contempt again:

But it came to pass that in a month's time after he began to be sick, and after two Weeks Sickness died, and Doctor Burwell that gave him this Counsell died about the same time; thus was the priest taken away in the height of his Strength and the rest of his cruelty was restrained, but it had cost Robert Barrow and John ffell 7 pounds besides 9 weeks of false Imprisonment.

Not content with enlisting the strong arm of the law for their discomfiture, Priest Brownsword seems also to have dipped his pen in gall and used it against the Quakers. Copies of two of his works are preserved in the British Museum. The first is that mentioned by the Quaker recorder as a product of the days when Brownsword was a "Leading Man amongst the Presbyterians in Oliver's days." The title page sufficiently describes it:

Rome's Conviction: or, a Discoverie of the unsoundness of *Rome's* Religion, in answer to a book, called *The Right Religion*, evinced *by L. B.*, shewing, (1) that the *Romish Church* is not the true and onely *Catholick Church*, infallible ground and rule of Faith. (2) That the

main Doctrines of the *Romish Church* are damnable errors, and therefore to be deserted by such as would be saved.

The description of the author at the date of publication, 1654, is: William Brownsword, M.A. and Minister of the Gospel at *Douglas* Chappell in *Lancashire.*

His studies in the religion of Rome brought further grist to his controversial mill. Some six years later, when he had become vicar of Kendal, he put forth a small quarto pamphlet, the fruit of considerable study, to judge by the learned references appended, and of more experience. The title page is again well filled by a lengthy explanation of his purpose:—

The
Quaker-Jesuite
or,
Popery in Quakerisme:
Being a clear Discovery
1. That their Doctrines, with their Proofs and Arguments, are fetcht out of the Council of Trent, Bellarmine, and others.
2. That their Practises are fetcht out of the Rules and Practises of Popish Monks.
With a serious Admonition to the Quakers, to consider their ways, and return from whence they are fallen.
By William Brownsword, Minister of the Gospel at Kendal.

The date of publication, 1660, is altered in ink in the Museum copy to Jan. 5, 1659. The author dates it Nov. 26, 1659. In his forewords, 'To all who hold the Truths of Christ, and continue in Communion in the Ordinances of Christ, within the Town, etc., of Kirkby Kendal,' the clerical pamphleteer remarks their "Souls, the Truths and Church of Christ" had "occasioned a late serious publique disswasive of you from the Church and Doctrines of *Rome,* under what name so ever, and by whomsoever they were propounded to you, and especially as they are propounded by the Quakers; who, as they are more active among you then other Sects so do their doctrines and practises more harmonize with *Rome* then others." He

goes on ingenuously to explain how this "late serious publique disswasive," evidently a sermon on his favourite topic, provoked denial: "The charge of falsehood against me by them, hath provoked this demonstration of the truth of what I had publiquely asserted: which as I hope it will tend to settle you against their way, so may it through God's blessing, be a means to fetch back some who are ignorantly drawn from us into their snares." After affirming that he does not refer to the doctrines which are "Catholick not Popish Doctrines," but only to those peculiar to Rome, and similarly only to the "practises" peculiar to the Orders of "Monks, Hermites, Nuns and the like," he proceeds to "parallel their Doctrines, and then their Practises" with those of the Quakers. He gives twelve pairs of doctrinal and ten of practical parallels. The doctrines include those of the inner light ("this is their Master-doctrine"); perfection attainable in this life; justification by a righteousness within us and by obedience; "that the Saints that have true Grace may fall away finally as *Judas* did, who was a godly man, till Christ gave him the sop, and the Divel thereupon entred into him;" "that Pagans and Turks living justly and honestly, may be justified and saved;" "that there is no absolute Decree of Election and Reprobation from Eternity;" the Scriptures not a rule of faith; infant baptism not affirmed by Scripture; the Lord's Day without Divine Authority; and "that some have the same Spirit of infallibility that the Apostles had." The Quaker belief—that "the Lord's Supper, as administred in our Churches is common, nothing but a bit of Bread and Wine: they speak very scornfully and contemptibly of it,"—is paralleled by quotations from the Rhemists, who call it "our profane Bread and Wine . . . void of Sacrament, and all Grace; a vain and detestable Table, and indeed a very Sacrifice, or a Table and Cup of Divels, wherein the Divel is properly served, and Christ's honour defiled; . . . It's Calvin's Supper and his Bread and Wine is like at length to come

to the Sacrifice of Ceres and Bacchus." Again the Quaker protests that "the Protestant Ministers are not the Ministers of Christ Jesus," and the charge that "they use the vilest language they can invent against us; deny our Call, say we came from Rome, had no Church before Henry the eighth, that others may do the work of the Ministry, as well as we, even women,"—all this is paralleled by a tremendous collection of Harding's invectives "against learned Jewel and the Reformed Ministry." Here is one paragraph only: "How seems not this wicked generation to spring of the Divel; ye falsely and wickedly lead the people; ye are Apostates, ye are Heretiques, ye are impudent and rebellious children, your Church is no other but the malignant Church and Synagogue of Satan; ye are light Preachers, wicked Vow-breakers, leud lecherous Lurdens, detestable blasphemers," &c., &c.

For the Quaker 'practises' Priest Brownsword finds many parallels in "the rules and practises of Popish Monks, in whose Discipline our new Monks seem to be admirably instructed." The followers of Fox, the apostle in the leathern suit, find their mean and plain apparel likened unto the sackcloth of "those poor hermites," while their "Discipline of Silence"—which is for the "attainment of Divine Knowledge"—and their fasting—"as a special means of spiritual knowledge"—are found to be strictly Popish. Another charge is: "They run up and down *Naked*, though not constantly, yet at some times." This is not false if we may trust another source of information, the *London Chronicle* of 1778, which extracts from an account of the first Quakers this incident: "At Kendal the wife of Edmund Albighton went naked through the streets, and other members of the Society, male and female, did the same, calling themselves Adam and Eve, and when examined concerning the same at the Assizes the man affirmed that the power of God was upon him, and he was commanded so to do." Priest Brownsword gives as a Jesuit parallel: "Ignatius Loyola, the grand

father of the Jesuites . . . used to go sometimes naked besmeared with filth, making himself a scoff to the beholders. In Cassian it is said: 'The Reins of Desire cannot be moderated and ruled but by the vertue of Nakedness.' Hence is that paradox: 'A Naked monk is Lord of the whole world.'" His last article sums up his complaint and his accusation: "They are a seduced people and active in seducing others, being ignorant, unlearned, yet an importunate unwearied people, compassing sea and land to make a proselyte, yet not for themselves but for those sophisters of Rome, whose Factors they are."

Having thus sought to make it evident that "the hand of a Jesuite is in the Quaker religion," he adds an epilogue to his Quaker parishioners. It is not very 'disswasive,' to be sure, for he tells them they are "become the Popes very Pedlars, to sell off his corruptest wares at stalls, which would never off in shops, to go play Mountebank Monkish tricks on every stage, to get the freer vent for those corrupt Doctrines that began to stick on his hands." Still, with an exhortation to them to return to the fold, he subscribes himself: "Your real friend, desirous to tell you the Truth, though accounted your enemy for it."

His pamphlet and his actions in the record above were of little avail. In the year of Brownsword's death, 1672, on the fourth of the third month, the MS. records tell us that "ffreinds of Kendall hath given a generall Testimony against the payment of Tythes, Repaire of the steple house (*i.e.*, the church), and things appertaining to the upholding of that ministry which pleads for sin during life, contrary to Christ and his ministry, who turnes people from Sattans soveranty to bear his heavenly Image in truth and righteousnesse." So failed this *malleus fanaticorum* (as a like-minded successor in the Vicarage of Kendal is styled in his epitaph), and so did the Quakers resist continually until the removal of the hated imposts in the last century.

At the reading of this paper, Mr. Wigham produced a copy, from the Library of the Society of Friends in London, of a pamphlet written in reply to Brownsword. By the kindness of Mr. R. M. Lidbetter we can give the text of the lengthy title-page and a few particulars of the work. The title runs:—

Babilons Defence
Broken down,
and one of Antichrists Warriours
DEFEATED:
In an Answer to a Scandalous Pamphlet, Intituled,
The Quaker-Jesuit:
or
Popery in Quakerism:

Put forth by one *William Brownsword*, who calls himself Minister of the Gospel at *Kendal*. In which the Doctrines of the *Quakers* (so-called) are more truly stated than he hath stated them; and fully manifested, and clearly proved by the Holy Scriptures to be the sound doctrines of Truth: In opposition to his false Slanders of them to be *Popery*. In which also, it is fully manifest that our practices are the practices of truth, for which we have the holy Prophets and Ministers of Christ for our Example. Wherein it is clearly manifest, that he hath no more true ground to compare us to the *Monks*, than the enemies of truth had, (in Generations past) to compare the holy Prophets to Idolators, who practiced such things in obedience to God, in their Age, as we practice in obedience to God in our Age, being a true testimony that many of the things that he hath said concerning us, and our Religion, are false.

With a few *Queries* to him concerning those Doctrines and Practices, in which he hath compared us with the Papists.

By John Stoery.

Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Mat. 5. 11.

As many were astonied at thee (his visage was so marr'd, more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men). Isai. 52. 14.

London, Printed for *Robert Wilson*, at the *Black-Spread-Eagle* and *Wind Mill* in Martins near Aldersgate, 1660.

The book consists of about forty pages, twenty-three of which are occupied with Storey's replies. Then follow twenty-two questions for William Brownsword to answer. A postscript is added, addressed "To William Brownsword and his Parishioners *(sic)* in Kendall," and the closing pages record a quaint challenge, in the style of the age, from Edward Burrough, dated "the 12th day of the 12th month, 1659," to discuss the matter; but it does not appear that the challenge was accepted.

"John Story, a Westmorland Friend, of whom we know little," is mentioned on page 64 of Chancellor Ferguson's *Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends.* Edward Burrough's life is given in pages 28 to 35 of the same volume, and letters of his are contained in the manuscript volume now in the Jackson Library, and described in the article by W. G. Collingwood, in these *Transactions,* vol. xiv.

TAPESTRY AT HIGH HOUSE.

TO FACE P. 115.

ART IX.—*A Panel of Tapestry at High House, Hawkshead.* By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 19th, 1904.

ALTHOUGH examples of tapestry exist in considerable numbers in our old English homes, I am not aware that any pieces of local interest have ever been described or illustrated in these *Transactions:* and possibly an interesting and useful paper on the subject might be put together by some member who has the leisure. The panel I shall describe is in my possession, having been purchased by me some years ago at a sale at Furness Abbey Hotel, when a considerable collection of china, old furniture and miscellaneous curiosities, belonging to the Misses Rainsford was dispersed.

The piece of tapestry in its present condition measures 7 feet in height and 11½ feet in width, but there has been an ornamental border most of which has gone. The material seems principally but perhaps not entirely wool. The subject for a considerable time puzzled me very much, since the sun, moon, stars and sheaves of corn were so faded and obliterated by dust as to be practically invisible. As it was being cleaned these appeared, and a lady friend at once identified the subject as Joseph's dream. Other difficulties then arose about the number of figures in the subject, and these were only solved by a very careful examination, which satisfied me that the panel represents not one, but two or perhaps three scenes in the same scriptural drama.

The large-sized figures which occupy so much of the space of the whole panel represent Joseph in the act of telling his dream. In the middle is Joseph himself (at that time 17 years old), staff in hand, and dressed in a short tunic, with a wallet slung around him. Three figures are before him, the largest and most imposing being evidently

his mother Rachel, while the male figure immediately behind her must be Jacob to whom Joseph is actually described as relating the dream. Behind Joseph are four standing male figures, apparently engaged in hot altercation, and one seated and placid figure. These must be the four sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, namely Dan, Naphthali, Gad and Asher, while either the seated figure or the man behind Jacob may be Reuben—though this leaves still one figure to be explained, since in the account in Genesis, there is nothing from which we are to infer that any other of the brothers were present at the telling of the dream.

There is one seeming difficulty which however may be thus explained. According to Bible chronology Joseph was born 1745 B.C., Rachel died 1732 B.C. and the dream took place 1729 B.C., so that Rachel had been dead three years. The text, however, in the book of Genesis* must therefore be understood to mean that Rachel was still with her husband in spirit; but no doubt on account of its wording, the artist has actually represented Rachel as one of the principal figures in the scene.

The next scene is comprised in the group of figures nearly above Joseph's head. Six brothers are standing in or near a pit, which is indicated by the dark curved outline in which they stand: and one of the brothers is actually shown in the act of slaying, apparently with a knife, the kid in the blood of which the coat of Joseph was to be dipped (Gen. xxxvii, 29-31).

The background shews four big trees, a city with gates, walls and towers, shrubs, a flock of sheep grazing, and distant hills. The dream itself apparently took place in the neighbourhood of the town of Shechem since it is stated (Gen. xxxvii, 2) that the brethren were feeding their flock, and, immediately following the account of the

* "And he told it to his father and to his brethren: and his father rebuked him, and said unto him, What is this dream that thou has dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee to the earth." Genesis, xxxvii., 10.

dream, we are told that they went to shepherd at Shechem.* The pit incident was at Dothan, which is about 20 miles north of Shechem. It is therefore quite possible that the landscape is meant to do duty for both of these towns.

Much of the space between the figures and below their feet is liberally sprinkled with plants, flowers and herbage, intended as an indication of the pastoral character of the scene of the drama. In the sky, and between the two central trees, is portrayed the dream itself—the sun, five stars, the moon and nine sheaves of corn in a circle round a central one. The sheep are correctly represented as the big tailed oriental breed, but the costume of the figures is a curious mixture of the European and oriental styles, the last being indicated chiefly by the turban-like head dress of some of the brethren.

This disposes of the subject, but a few words may be said about the history, style and condition of the tapestry.

When my purchase arrived at home, it was found full of dirt, and suffering a good deal from moth. Careful cleaning got rid of the latter, but failed to restore the colouring, which is very faded; for although the various tints of green which predominate are fairly well preserved, most of the flesh tints and reds have turned to colourless greys and drabs. When the hammer fell at the auction, I had no idea of its recent history, but enquiry elicited the information that it was originally part of the Sizergh tapestry, and this information I have every reason to believe is correct. I do not however know any printed record that a tapestry series of the "Story of Joseph" was ever at Sizergh, or that any odd panels of such a series exist there at the present time.

Again although there seems at one time to have been a good deal of tapestry at Sizergh, very little precise information on the subject is available. The accepted theory is apparently that all or most if it was either brought or

* "And his brethren went to feed their father's flock in Shechem." v. 12.

sent home by Thomas Strickland (son of Walter Strickland of Sizergh) who was Bishop of Namur and Ambassador to England from the Emperor Charles VI. The date of his death is given as 1740 or 1743, at Namur. The date of my panel is however considerably earlier than this, the style of work, treatment and costume, proving it to have been made at the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. A friend of mine (Mr. W. Harding Smith) shewed my photograph to Sir C. Purdon Clarke, of the South Kensington Museum, who said it appeared to be Flemish, but that it might be an English (Mortlake Factory) copy of a Flemish design.* There does not therefore appear to be anything in its character which would not fit in with the current tradition that Bishop Strickland brought or sent the Sizergh tapestry to Westmorland.†

The illustration is from a photograph, over which I have spent a considerable time touching with the brush to bring out the detail. It will be observed however that in it only five stars, half the moon, and six sheaves are visible. The reason is as follows. The photograph was made some time back by a friend, and as, in consequence of the size of the tapestry, it proved impossible to get the camera quite in front, some distortion was the result. It was thought that this might be corrected by re-photographing the print, but the maker of the block effected it instead by cutting a slip off the top of the photograph, and then relaying the border. A portion of the subject is therefore lost, the proportions a little altered, and the town has a slope up to the right. Some parts of the costume also have come out much lighter than they actually appear: the lightest colour being a sort of Khaki.

* There are no manufactory marks on it. If, as I imagine, there was a wider ornamental margin, these may have been cut away.

† Dr. M. W. Taylor in these *Transactions* (x. 35), mentions the "Story of Alexander," and says the Sizergh tapestry was Beauvais work. Mr. Curwen in the same volume says it came from the Bishop's Palace at Namur. Lady E. Strickland in her "Sizergh Castle" (1898), alludes to the "Story of Anthony and Cleopatra" as now hanging in the Inlaid room.

ART. X.—*Roman Altars from Cumberland now at Rokeby, with a Note on the Crosscanonby Altar.* By J. B. BAILEY.

Communicated at Carlisle, September 8th, 1904.

IN vol. xvi. of the *Transactions* (p. 138) I communicated an article on "Lost and Re-found Roman Altars," specially dealing with five altars at present standing on a platform at Rokeby Hall, near Greta Bridge, Yorkshire.

Three of these are known to have been removed from Naworth to Rokeby by Sir Thomas Robinson, to whom they were given by his brother-in-law, the Earl of Carlisle.

With regard to the others, I ventured to suggest that they too were from the same source; and, further, that they are altars which are reported by Dr. Bruce in the *Lapidarium* as missing.

The inscriptions on these two latter, so far as I was able to decipher them, apparently confirmed my suggestion; but no really definite decision could be arrived at, as the photographs taken were not altogether satisfactory.

I am glad, however, to report that another step has been taken towards the elucidation of this difficulty, and I trust that, as regards at least one of the altars (No. 358, *Lapidarium*, and 807, *Corpus*), we may now be able to say that its identity with one of the "missing" altars is finally established.

On Easter Monday, April 4th, 1904, accompanied by my brother, Dr. T. L. Bailey. I went to make a further examination of the altars; and, if possible, to secure a satisfactory photograph. We soon came to the conclusion that there was very little prospect of doing the latter; but, not wishing to return without trying every method

that suggested itself, after some considerable amount of trouble, I was able to distinguish three or four very indistinct letters which I slightly chalked over. Judging that a photograph taken under such circumstances, however allowable in some cases, would not be a satisfactory solution of this difficulty, my brother lightly chalked over the whole surface of the altar, hoping thus to be able to detect the letters. This plan also failed, and, as we could not leave the altar in this condition, my brother took some rain water which happened to be in the somewhat large focus and sponged off the chalk marks. To our intense surprise and gratification the three last lines were at once rendered perfectly intelligible, so much so that they could be read with perfect ease at a considerable distance from the altar. Needless to say that, although rain was falling at the time, the camera was at once put into requisition and a photograph secured. We were much disappointed with the result, which gives but a faint representation of what we saw so very distinctly. Still an ordinary lens reveals the inscription.

The lettering is of a very bold, but at the same time of a rude character, and had apparently been scratched with some pointed iron tool, rather than chiselled. This part of the inscription was exactly as I deciphered it on July 15th, 1881, viz. :—

E S T A M M
V I C T O R I N
T R I B

The downstrokes are at various angles, and the letters of unequal size. Those in the first line above are approximately three inches high, whilst those in the next are nearly two and a half inches.

As, however, parts of other letters were to be seen, I had several prints taken from the negative on various kinds of printing paper, and in different degrees of intensity.

By the aid of a good lens I carefully examined each of these in varying lights and positions, and at length was able to make out the inscription as follows :—

I . O . M
C O . .
D A . . . V M .
Q . . . . P R A E
E S T . A M M
V I C T O R I N
T R I B

This only served to increase my interest in the altar, and as I was able to revisit Barnard Castle during the summer, I again went to Rokeby on July 16th, and was agreeably surprised to find that the last three lines were now perfectly distinct. Evidently the chalk and water had proved efficacious.

Favoured with bright sunshine, I was able without much trouble to add the letter A, evidently the initial of AELIA, to the second line; whilst DAC in the third line and QVB.PRAE in the fourth were faintly, though clearly discernible.

There was thus very little difficulty in making a suggested reading of the full inscription as follows :—

I . O . M
C O H . I . A E L .
D A C O R V M
Q V B . P R A E
E S T . A M M
V I C T O R I N
T R I B

For purposes of comparison, the inscription on another and almost identical altar—viz., No. 357, *Lapidarium*—and now at Netherby, but originally from Birdoswald, is given, viz. :—

I . O . M
C O Ī A E L I A
D A C O R V M
Q V B P R E E S T
A M M O N I V S
V I C T O R I N V S
T R I B

So far all seems quite clear, but the *Corpus* reading of the "lost" altar, as kindly supplied me by the late Chancellor Ferguson, is :—

I . O . M
S O . . . .
C V I P R A E
E S T A M M O
V I C T O R I N V S
T R I B

This gives six lines only, but there are clearly seven lines on the Rokeby altar—if not, indeed, eight—for I fancy there is another line between DACORVM and QVB.PRAE, and there are indications which lead me to think that the word itself is GORDIANA.

The letter O in AMMO and the letters VS at the end of VICTORINVS are not present, nor is there room for them even allowing, which is apparent, that part of the edge of the altar has weathered off.

With regard to No. 813 *Corpus*, the second of the missing altars, I have very little to add to what I said in my last paper (*Transactions*, vol. xvi., pp. 141-143).

On July 16th I narrowly scrutinised this altar, but unfortunately it had been too well cleaned of its covering of lichen, and the surface shows strong signs of scaling, so that we took no photograph. At the same time, I was able to decide definitely that the dedication was I.O.M; whilst the letter N in the last line was fairly distinct. Another examination of the photograph taken in 1898 has added one or two other letters to those already reported (p. 143), including what appears to be the compound letter TR.

On the face of the altar I noticed a cross (+), and thinking that this might have been put on as a means of identification, I examined the other altars and on each of them found the same mark.

Perhaps we may be allowed to infer that this classes all the five altars as belonging to one set, and hence incidentally makes this altar one from Naworth, even though it be not the missing one. As I remarked before, it has all the characteristics of a Naworth altar, besides which it bears a striking similarity to the drawing of the missing altar in Hutchinson's *Cumberland.*

But there are three other Roman altars at Rokeby placed in alcoves. These I examined in 1898, but being unable to come to any definite decision, I left them over for further consideration. My only reason for alluding to them now is owing to the fact that, since the photograph was taken, I have been able to secure quite a different and, I trust, a more satisfactory reading to any yet advanced; at any rate, so far as two of the three are concerned, the third being self-evident.

Various readings have been given of the first of these altars, which doubtless came from Birdoswald, and hence comes within the notice of this Society. Speaking of it, Gough says:—"In the museum at Rookby, I saw in 1763 the following inscription brought from Naworth Castle, and hence from Amboglanna probably:—

D E O M A X
. V . . . . O .
. . . . V I .
M A . . . . "

This inscription is, of course, quite unintelligible, but the note accompanying it is an exceedingly valuable one, as it adds another to our list of altars brought from Naworth Castle by Sir Thomas Robinson. There seems no reason to doubt the credibility of Gough's statement, as Sir Thomas was at Rokeby at the time, and hence

would doubtless supply the information. But it seems strange that Gough should mention this altar alone, and yet omit all reference to the others, supposing them to have been there, especially as he knew that several had been given to Sir Thomas.* It is probable, however, that at this time this was the only one that had been brought from Naworth. Certainly it is the most elegant of all of them, and hence would be most likely to attract the attention of Sir Thomas.

The *Corpus* reading of this altar—No. 827—is as follows:—

DEO MAP
.TV..CTO.
....EC
VAARTI
S..SIN

And the following remark is added:—"Ego paene nihil distinguere potui." The photograph somewhat qualifies this statement.

My own reading of it is as follows:—

DEO MART
METVICTORIAE
AVG...VI...
..VARIM
..SE.VSLM

The first two and the last lines I give almost without reservation. The initial letter in the second may be for *militari*, as in two of the Maryport altars; whilst the letters RIAE at the end are apparently compounded into one letter, as also are the letters ME at the beginning of the line.

The third line is given with diffidence, but the fourth cannot, I think, be VAARTI. The letters in the last line are not so well cut as those in the other lines, but there is very little doubt but that they are as I have given them.

* *Transactions*, xvi., p. 141.

The second of these altars is *Corpus*, 276, which adds the remark :—"Potest allata esse ex Amboglannis." The inscription is given as :—

DEO MART
ENE MV
GENVSA
RAM POS
VIT VOT
VM FEC
SOL LM
ET PRO SE

On the whole this is a tolerably correct rendering, but it seems strange that when the lettering is so distinct that in the sixth line the word FEC occurs when there are really four letters; and again in the next line where, instead of LM, there are clearly three letters. To this part of the question we shall return shortly.

That it is unintelligible the *Corpus* apparently admits, as the transliteration supplied is given as follows :—"Deo Marte Nem(etius?) (In)genus? aram posuit votum fec(it) l(ibens) m(erito) et pro se?"

Having in 1898 got an excellent photograph of this altar from Mr. Yeoman, The Teesdale Studio, Barnard Castle, I am able to supply the following alterations, viz.,

Line No. 1 is clearly DEO MARTI.

Line No. 2 is either INEMAV or INEMN, but I favour the former.

Line No. 6 appears to me to be either ELSM or ELSV; whilst in line 7 the concluding letters are only one-third the size of the preceding letters SOL. Instead of reading them as LM, I should prefer either ISM or HSM; whilst the last line is really IT PRO SE, if not VIT PRO SE. The letters IT are much smaller than those which follow, and are placed in such a position as to suggest the idea that they had been cut or scratched after the later letters. Still, even allowing that the suggested alterations are correct, the meaning is not thereby made more apparent.

Hence one of my reasons for examining this altar again on July 16th was to settle the exact letters if this were possible. Favoured by a brilliant sun, which shone across the face of the altar, I had no great difficulty in deciding that the letters at the end of line 6 were undoubtedly ETSV and in line 7 ISM. Thus the *Corpus* rendering would have to be altered as follows :—

```
DEO MARTI
INEMAV
GENVSA
RAMPOS
VIT VOT
VM  ETSV
SOL ISM
(V)IT PROSE
```

This being so, and I give the suggested alterations without the slightest hesitation, we may ask how they affect the interpretation. It would appear to me as though the person who dedicated the altar (Julius Numetius Augenus ?) first scratched on that part of the inscription, excluding the portion at the end of lines six and seven round which I have placed the lines. Finding, then, that he had not got in the whole of the common formula "pro se et suis," he apparently inserted it afterwards in what I take to have been a vacant part of the altar, and then finished it by placing the letter M for "merito" at the end. Perhaps the fact of his making the letters ISM so much smaller than the rest may be intended by him to point to this fact.

This may be a somewhat fanciful explanation, nor can I bring to mind any inscription which would lend itself as a precedent for my so regarding it. But the letters are so clearly as I have given them that I can see no alternative.

I might add that on one side of the altar is the head of a boar, and on the other a shield.

The third altar (277, *Corpus*) is simply inscribed :—

D E O
M A R T I

and the remark appended is "Potest aliunde allata esse." The letters T I are compounded.

NOTE ON THE CROSSCANONBY ALTAR.

In vol. iv., p. 323-4, of the *Transactions* the discovery of the above is alluded to, and the inscription is given as :—

. . . . .
. V S . P R A E F E
. O H . I . D E L M .

As I made several enquiries at the time of its discovery, the results may probably be of interest as they add somewhat to the account there given.

On September 22nd, 1877, whilst digging a grave immediately opposite the west end of the church, the sexton came across a large stone which it became necessary to remove in order that the grave might be dug to the required depth. As, however, it extended beyond the grave space, the sexton broke off the portion which he wished to remove. This proved to be part of a Roman altar. For some months it lay in the churchyard, and various attempts were made to decipher the inscription, the same being duly communicated to the local press. As all these attempts were quite unintelligible, on Easter Tuesday, 1878, I went to see the altar as it lay in the

churchyard. As a result, I made out the inscription to be :—

. . A C (I L I A N)
V S . P R A E F E C
. O H . Ī . D E L M A

This, it will be observed, is somewhat longer than that given in the *Transactions*, and apparently decides the name of the officer. In the portico at Netherhall are two altars by Acilianus, Prefect of the first cohort of the Dalmatians, and there is just room on the altar for the letters ILIAN.

Previous to its removal to Netherhall three or four of the letters were broken off, though there is still sufficient of each left to show the correctness of my reading.

THE CAPON TREE AS IT WAS IN 1833.

Drawn by the Rev. W. Ford. *Photo. by the Rev. G. J. Goodman.*

TO FACE P. 129.

ART. XI.—*The Capon Tree, Brampton, and its Memories.* By HENRY PENFOLD.

Read at Carlisle, April 19th, 1904.

THE consideration of three maps, all of recent date, have led to the writing of this paper. On the first, of date 1777, we find marked "The Capon Tree"; on the second, the earliest Ordnance Survey, we find marked "The Remains of the Capon Tree"; while on the most recent map the spot is marked "Site of the Capon Tree." This progressive marking of the name justified the placing on record all that is known of this once famous tree; all the more was this necessary when practically nothing in the way of documentary evidence has come down to us to show its original significance and meaning. The Capon Tree in the minds of the inhabitants of this north-eastern corner of the county was associated with many venerable traditions and stories, and we may find it a necessary though an unpleasant task to unshroud this venerable oak and to clear away the fairy tales—of judges under its branches regaling themselves on capons and wine, of the popularly supposed idea that this tree was the place where thousands of border raiders were executed, of tales of Capon Tree boggles; these and many others just as mythical will have to disappear under the plain light of history.

The Capon Tree stood half a mile to the south-west of Brampton on the side of the old paved road from Newcastle to Carlisle, just where this old road is joined by a lane which leads to the Wreay and Brampton Fell, known in the neighbourhood as the Sandy Lonning. The tree gives the name to a small farm of thirty or forty acres, which in 1778, the year of the making of the Brampton

award, was sold for the purpose of the payment of the expenses, and ever since has borne the name of the Capon Tree Farm. By the kindness of Lord Carlisle we have examined his valuable collection of estate maps in the muniment room at Naworth, but as the tree stood on common land—land from time immemorial common to the parishioners and therefore not on the Naworth estate —the more ancient of these maps do not contain evidence even of the existence of the tree. From a rare map of the county of Cumberland previous to the passing of the Enclosure Act, and belonging to Mr. Alderman Dobson, we find the tree marked at the very extreme corner of the common land, the property of Lord Carlisle. From this map of date 1777, as well as from the plan accompanying the award and dated 1778, we see this tree marked alone with no other trees near it. Indeed it is the only tree on the plan issued with the award, a plan which covered 1760 acres of common land which lay in Brampton parish. This alone is some indication of the importance attached to it both by the parishioners and the makers of the award. Was not this then a likely place for a Bramptonian to gratify one of the only pieces of pure sentiment that a Cumbrian indulges, namely, of setting his friends out on the road or meeting them there when going or returning on their way? Perhaps this has some bearing on the name Capon Tree, a point which we will discuss later on in this paper.

Before proceeding we might in passing note that there are other two Capon Trees known to us—one in the pasture at Alnwick Castle, and the other a solitary remaining member of Jed Forest standing near Ferniehurst Castle, Jedburgh, on the estate of the Marquis of Lothian. How then did these trees, all ancient oaks, get the name? We must confess to a certain amount of diffidence in approaching this, to us, thorny question. Singular indeed it is that there is so little printed matter regarding the name. No attempt is made in either the *Transactions* of

the Berwickshire Naturalists' Society or in the *Archæologia Aeliana* to give the meaning. As far as our research goes we have discovered two or three attempts to explain the name. The first is from the *History of Alnwick*, by George Tate, F.R.S., F.S.A. (vol. i., p. 436) :—

A favourite pastime of the girls was played here (*i.e.*, under the branches of the Capon Tree) and deserves a passing notice because accompanied by a peculiar local song. The name indicates the character of the game; *Kep* is from Anglo-Saxon *Cepan*, Teutonic *Kappan*, to catch or capture; for when the game was played at by several, the ball was thrown into the air and kepped, or intercepted in its descent by one or other of the girls and it was then thrown up again to be caught or intercepted by some other . . . . singing at the same time the following ditty :—

Keppy ball, Keppy ball, coban tree,
Come down the long lonning and tell to me
The form and the features, the speech and degree,
Of the man that is my true love to be.
One a maiden, two a wife,
Three a maiden, four a wife, &c.

the numbers being continued so long as the ball could be kept rebounding against the tree. *Capon*, *coban* and *covin*, are several names of the same tree, the letters *p*, *b* and *v* being interchangeable.

The second attempt to explain the meaning of the name is from Jamieson's *Dictionary* :—

A large tree in front of an old Scottish mansion house where the Laird always met his visitors. The term occurs in the following beautiful stanza, the only one known to remain, of a mother's lament for her son.

He was lord o' the hunting horn
And king o' the coven tree;
He was lu'ed in a' the west lan waters
And O he was dear to his ain minnie.

It has been supposed that this is "convoy tree," the place to which the host "convoyed" (accompanied) his departing guests. Much more probably from "Covyne" as signifying convention or place of meeting like Trysting tree.

The third attempt to give the meaning is from *Arboretum and Fruticetum*, p. 1752, by J. C. Loudon. This Capon Tree (at Jedburgh) is said to have been the place where the Border clans met in olden time, and hence the name of Capon from the Scotch word "Kep"—to meet.

Nor can we leave this part of our subject without alluding to Hutchinson's idea of the derivation of the name. He tells us that the name is derived from the fact of the Judges regaling themselves under its branches with a repast, the principal courses of which were capons and wine. This story is repeated also by Lord Macaulay in his *History of England*, (vol. i, chap. iii). This appears to be the most fanciful attempt to give the origin of the name, for while it might be a fact that the Judges *en route* from Newcastle to Carlisle regaled themselves as stated, this could not by any possible manner of means be the explanation of the name when applied to the two trees at Alnwick and Ferniehurst. We are therefore compelled to seek elsewhere for the meaning. First, however, let us understand the significance of the Anglo-Saxon.

Cepan—To take, hold, go about, endeavour, make an attempt, betake oneself to, seek after, catch at, heed, regard, catch, keep.
Bosworth's *Dictionary*.

We do not strain the meaning then when we put down the Capon Tree at Brampton as the trysting tree, the meeting place of the district, to which lovers betook themselves, where friends met friends and where they accompanied them to on their outward journey and sped the parting guest. This idea agrees very well with Jamieson and Loudon, and is confirmed very curiously while writing. Mr. Wm. Barker of the Sands, Brampton, an old "residenter" informs us that the Capon Tree was the rendezvous where all those who in Brampton were inclined for "fisticuffs" met their opponents. He says that on fair, market, or hiring days, the man who considered himself "cock" of the neighbourhood shook the

bull ring in the market place, as a sign that he was ready to meet any one who disputed his championship. The opponents always repaired to the Capon Tree, and in the presence of such backers as assembled fought for the supremacy. There is no evidence whatever of the rhyming game of Keppy ball having been played against the trunk of the ancient oak, though even if it were so, it is likely that with the tree having become a gallows, the innocent play of the children would be stopped or removed to some less gruesome landmark. More likely indeed, is it that both the tree and the game derived their names from the one root, as the meaning given is wide enough to include both derivations. The game of Keppy ball is still played at Brampton but without any ancient rhyme attached to it.

Chancellor Ferguson has said:—"I have always thought that the history of the retreat of the Highlanders was very inadequately dealt with" (these *Transactions*, x., p. 186). With this remark we are in complete concurrence, and the Capon Tree with its associations affords a proper opportunity for adding a few more facts to those already known regarding the rising of "45," as far as it concerns the County of Cumberland. It is proper here in passing to notice the hitherto almost unobserved fact that Brampton was the scene of the official commencement in the rising of the "15," for from Patten's *History of the Rebellion of 1715*, fourth ed., p. 58, we find :—

The next day (November 1st, 1715) they entered England and marched to Brampton, a small market town belonging to the Earl of Carlisle. Here nothing happened but proclaiming the Pretender and taking up the public money, the excise on malt and ale. Here Mr. Forster opened his commission to act as general in England, which had been brought him from the Earl of Mar, and from this day the Highlanders had sixpence per head per day paid them to keep them in good order and under command.

(P. 64.) They expected to have met with some friends here to have joined them, for it was reported that Mr. Dacre of Abbey-Lannercost, a Papist, had promised to raise 40 men; but he was

taken with a fortunate fever which hindered him of his design, and prevented him and his family from ruin; he died since; his name, which was very ancient, is now extinct in that estate.*

Turning to the "45," we might remark that on November 11th,† 1745, Prince Charles Edward Stuart passed over this old road, and entered Brampton by the Lonning. Two or three days later the Mayor and Corporation passed the tree when going and returning on their errand of delivering upon bended knees the keys of the city to their conqueror at Brampton. Prince Charlie himself, also, on Monday, the 18th November, 1745, left Brampton on his white charger, preceded by his hundred pipers in full Highland panoply, and took possession of the city—the proudest act and the proudest day of his romantic career; and nine months later a procession of six Jacobite sufferers were drawn on hurdles up the old highway, the place of execution being the Capon Tree. The executioner was one William Stout of Hexham, who for the sum of twenty guineas and the perquisites of clothes carried into effect the sentences of the Judges. Twenty suffered at Carlisle, six at Penrith; and on the 21st of October, 1746, six suffered on the Capon Tree at Brampton (Walker's *History of Penrith*, p. 97). The trials at Carlisle in the summer and autumn of 1746 are matters of common knowledge. Suffice it to say that the description given in *Waverley* (chap. 69) by Sir Walter Scott of the execution of Fergus MacIvor and Evan Maccombich is, as competent historians agree, correct in all its detail. The Brampton sufferers were among the 125 who were thrust into the small dungeon of Carlisle Castle, whose only light and ventilation are supplied by a narrow slit in

* This note regarding James Dacre of Lanercost ought to be read in conjunction with "Notes on the Dacres of Lanercost," by the Rev. J. Wilson (these *Transactions*, vol. xii., pp. 338-343). Some of the remarks there made by Mr. Wilson are still further proved by the above extract.

† The dates are taken from Mr. W. B. Blaikie's "Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart," Scottish Historical Society.

the exterior wall—a piece of inhumanity which can only be compared to the Black Hole of Calcutta. Here they were confined from August 12th, 1746, to the middle of October. The six Brampton sufferers were :—Colonel James Innes, Captain Patrick Lindesay, Ronald Macdonald, Thomas Park, Peter Taylor, and Michael Delard (*The Scots Magazine*, 1746). It is worth while endeavouring to trace these men. This we have done, and thanks to the researches which Mr. W. B. Blaikie has made for us among the State papers in the Public Record Office, we are able to give many particulars concerning them. For the particulars regarding Patrick Lindesay we are indebted to Mr. A. Francis Stewart, a lineal descendant of James Innes.

As James Innes seems to have become a colonel in the service of Prince Charles Edward Stuart and to have been a person of some note in the rising, we will give the particulars regarding him in full :—

S.P. Dom } Vol 87. Sept 1746
George II. }

Unto the Kings most excellent Majesty

The humble petition of James Innes presently prisoner in the Castle of Carlisle under conviction of high treason Sheweth

That I have always behaved myself as a dutiful and loyal subject to your Majesty untill sometime after the breaking out of the late wicked and unnatural Rebellion.

That after the said Rebellion did break out I always expressed a dislike and abhorrence of the attempt.

That sometime in the month of October last a party of the Rebels of about Three hundred armed men came to the town of Cullen the place of my residence, and having by force broke into my house and required me to go with them, I was by their threatenings prevailed upon to comply and to my great sorrow must acknowledge, That I continued sometime in their company tho' I showed a great unwillingness and aversion to their designs.

That being sensible of my crime tho' attended with no atrocious circumstances, I resolved to give your Majesty's Judges no trouble, and therefore threw myself upon your majestys known clemency, and upon my arraignment pleaded guilty.

That I am a man of near seventy years of age and have a family whose subsistence depends upon my life, That I havc a full sense of and thorough repentance for my crime and therefore with the greatest humility I prostrate myself at your Majesty's feet for mercy.

May it therefore please your most Excellent Majesty to extend your known clemency to your Petitioner who will dedicate the remainder of his days to praying for your Majesty's long and happy reign for the prosperity of your Royal House and that your Majesty's posterity may continue to reign over a People happy in their Sovereigns to the latest ages.

[Signed] James Innes.

Addressed Unto the King's most excellent majesty

The humble petition of James Innes
Prisoner under conviction of High Treason
at Carlisle 1746.

Endorsed Rd from the E of Finlater Sept 29, 1746.

In his letter of Sept. 27 transmitting the petition and the affidavits, the Earl of Finlater says that his transmitting them is not to be interpreted as an attestation from himself as a truth of the facts contained in them.

[Affidavits sent with the petition].

In behalf of James Innes prisoner
under conviction of High Treason at Carlisle.

William Mason, tide waiter in Cullen maketh oath. That he has lived long in the neighbourhood of James Innes presently prisoner in the Castle of Carlisle, and knoweth that the said James Innes is about seventy years of age, and has always behaved himself in a peaceable and dutifull manner as a loyal subject until sometime after the breaking out of the late horrid and unnatural Rebellion. That he has often conversed with the said James Innes before he was engaged therein and about the time of its breaking out and heard him always express in such a manner as shewed a dislike and abhorrence of the attempt. But that sometime in the month of October last one David Tulloch who was engaged in the Rebellion came to the town of Cullen where the Deponent and James Innes lived with a body of about three hundred men n arms, and the Deponent being at that time in company with the said James Innes knows that he refused to see David Tulloch who thereupon broke in by force to the room where James Innes was and required him to

go along which after sometime with threats he prevailed on him to do tho' the Deponent has been informed that the said James Innes showed a great unwillingness and aversion to their design.

Signed W Mason

Sworn at Carlisle in the
county of Cumberland the 12th
day of September 1746 before me

T Burnett.

Affidavit of William Ord Merchant and Baillie of Cullen taken at the same date and in the same words.

Such was the plight of those unfortunates who had ventured their all with Prince Charles Edward Stuart. James Innes is a typical case, and we have ventured to give the above lengthy extracts to show the extremes to which these adherents of the unlucky Stuarts had come. We give a further extract from a letter by Mr. W. B. Blaikie :—

James Innes, Brother of Innes, laird of Coxton in Morayshire, a branch of the ancient family—Innes of Balveny in Banffshire, which had fallen into poverty through loyalty to Charles I. (At the 45 period, the head of the family Sir Robert, of Innes of Ortoun, had to enlist as a private dragoon, though he afterwards got a commission).

James Innes in 1745 was surveyor of the highways in Banffshire. At his trial he pleaded that he was "near to 70 years of age" and that 300 men came into Cullen (Banffshire, where he lived) and forced him to go with them. This was of course the constant plea of all the prisoners. He seems to have been with Glenbucket's people at first but he received a colonel's commission and was A.D.C. to Lord Ogilvy.

The next of the Brampton sufferers in importance was Captain Patrick Lindesay, who, says Mr. Francis Stewart, was often called Peter—Peter being an effectionate cognomen for Patrick. He [in the State Papers called a "gentleman"] was a farmer or yeoman in Wester Deans, Peebleshire. He was keeper of the wardrobe at Holyrood to Prince Charles, and proclaimed the Prince as King at St. Andrews. He was captured in July, 1746; when along

with six other fugitives he was made prisoner in the Braes of Angus, when he had come down from the mountain fastnesses to look for food. Both Innes and Lindesay pleaded guilty when arraigned, though we are informed that Lindesay "died with great resolution, but persisted in justifying what they had done."

Ronald Macdonald, another of the Capon Tree victims, was a private in the Edinburgh City Guard and deserted to the Prince. Mr. Blaikie says :—

He was certainly not the Ranald Macdonald who first aroused the enthusiasm of the Highland Chiefs. That Ranald was a brother of Kinloch Moidart and was Captain in Clanranald's regiment. He lived to be a father of 21 children and is supposed to be the author of the Macdonald narrative in the "Lockhart papers."

We have been the more particular in these identifications because in the county histories and other local works so many errors appear, and in the latest local publication dealing with this subject, the late J. A. Wheatley's *Prince Charlie in Cumberland*, (p. 50), we find the author surmising as to whether the Ronald Macdonald executed at Brampton, was the gallant young man who first roused the Highlanders' enthusiasm. We have now three prisoners left to deal with, Thomas Park, Peter Taylor, and Michael Delard. In the state papers very full accounts of Thomas Park and Peter Taylor are to be found. In his petition to the King, Thomas Park avers that "four Highland men came to his house armed and forciblie carried him off with them." That being "indicted for High Treason before your Majestys Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer at Carlyle, he did not dissemble his offence" but "pled guilty choosing to trust himself to your Majesty's known clemencie." On the other hand, there were witnesses ready to prove that Park "was a Serg^t in the Manchester Reg^t that he marcht with the rebel army from Manchester to Derby and from Derby to Carlisle," also "that he had a white cockade in his cap,

and that at Lancaster Kendal and Penrith he carryed an halbert in the Rebel army," "that he was in Carlisle when it was besieged by ye Duke of Cumberland, wore a plain sash, white cockade and hanger."

Passing on to the remaining couple we find from the State Papers the following particulars:—

S P Dom } October 1746 Vol. 88.
George II. }

State of the cases of the Prisoners who appeared most guilty at Carlisle in Ld Chief Baron's Letter Oct. 6, 1746.

Michael Dellard a common soldier in the Manchester Reg^t who straggled from the rest and by terror and threats raised contributions whilst the army march^t through Lancashire and was taken by the county people.

Peter Taylor was involved in the general guilt of accompanying the Rebels in arms as one of the Manchester Reg^t. After he was indicted at Carlisle, made his escape but was retaken at Shap on his way to Lancashire.

It appears that no further details of Dellard are in the State Papers, but from the Scots Magazine, 1746, we find that he was an Irishman. Peter Taylor's petition is very much like the others quoted, and expresses in very similar language "his deep sense of the mildness of the government and the justice of the terrible sentence he now his under." That all the six who were executed at Brampton were deeply involved in the raising, is clearly proven. Another fact brought out is that not all, who took part, were Highlanders. Here we have three Highlanders, two Englishmen and one Irishman. Regarding their execution we give another extract from the State Papers, being the letter of the High Sheriff regarding the execution:—

S P Dom } October 1746 Vol 88.
George II. }

Carlisle 22nd October 1746

My Lord

On Tuesday last were executed at Brampton agreeable to their sentence Peter Taylor, Michael Dellard, Ronald Macdonald, James Innes, Peter Lindesay, and Thomas Park, who behaved as

becoming men in their condition. The three first were Roman Catholics and the last three Protestants; the other four who were ordered for execution along with the above were James Forbes, Richard Morison, Alexander Hutchinson and Stephen Fitzgerald, the three first were reprieved by your Grace's letter of the 17th instant & the last died in prison some time before the day of execution on whose body the coroner took an Inquest.

I am
My Lord
Your Grace's most
obedient humble servant
Chr Pattinson

Endorsed Carlisle Oct 22nd 1746
Mr Pattinson High Sheriff of Cumberland

So ends the tragedy. What became of the bodies of the prisoners is not known from official sources, but the following extract from Allan Cunningham is worth reproducing:—

We were told in our youth by an old lady, who when a girl, was present at the execution of some of the rebels at Carlisle that most of them (all fine young men) were not half dead when cut down; one of them actually struggled with the wretch, who opened his bosom to pluck out his heart. The scene she said haunted her fancy for half a century, and she never reflected on it without a shudder.

It is possible that many Bramptonians gazed on the same gruesome spectacle at the Capon Tree. Little wonder, indeed, is it then that the Capon Tree got the reputation of being the resort of ghosts and boggles, and for at least a century after the execution loomed largely in the talk of the country folk. The bodies, it is probable, were buried under its branches. At the funeral of the Carlisle victims, it is reported in a letter written by Lieut.-Colonel Howard, Governor of Carlisle Castle, that Mr. Douglas, Mr. Graham, the apothecary, Mr. Lowry and Mr. Campbell of Brampton assisted publicly—the latter as mourner, the other three as pall-bearers (Lord Albemarle's *Fifty Years of my Life*). Whether "Mr.

Campbell of Brampton" acted the part of mourner over the Capon Tree victims is not known. It is probable that Mr. Campbell himself had come to Brampton with the Prince, for we still have an old lady living here whose grandfather, Robert Campbell, came to Brampton in the "45" and settled in the place. Why the Capon Tree was chosen or why the prisoners were brought to Brampton for execution cannot now accurately be discovered. Conjecture and surmise lead us to think that where the Prince had stayed there the rebels were hung as a warning to those inhabitants who had been fascinated by the urbanity of his bearing and the romance of his undertaking—no less an undertaking than regaining a lost crown and kingdom.

Turning now to the story of the Judges we might give in his own words the description given by Lord Macaulay (*History of England*, vol. i, chap. iii.)

> No traveller ventured into that country (Cumberland and Westmorland) without making his will. The Judges on Circuit with the whole body of barristers, attorneys, clerks and serving men rode on horseback from Newcastle to Carlisle, armed, and escorted by a strong guard under the command of the Sheriffs. It was necessary to carry provisions, for the country was a wilderness which afforded no supplies. The spot where the cavalcade halted to dine, under an immense oak, is not yet forgotten.

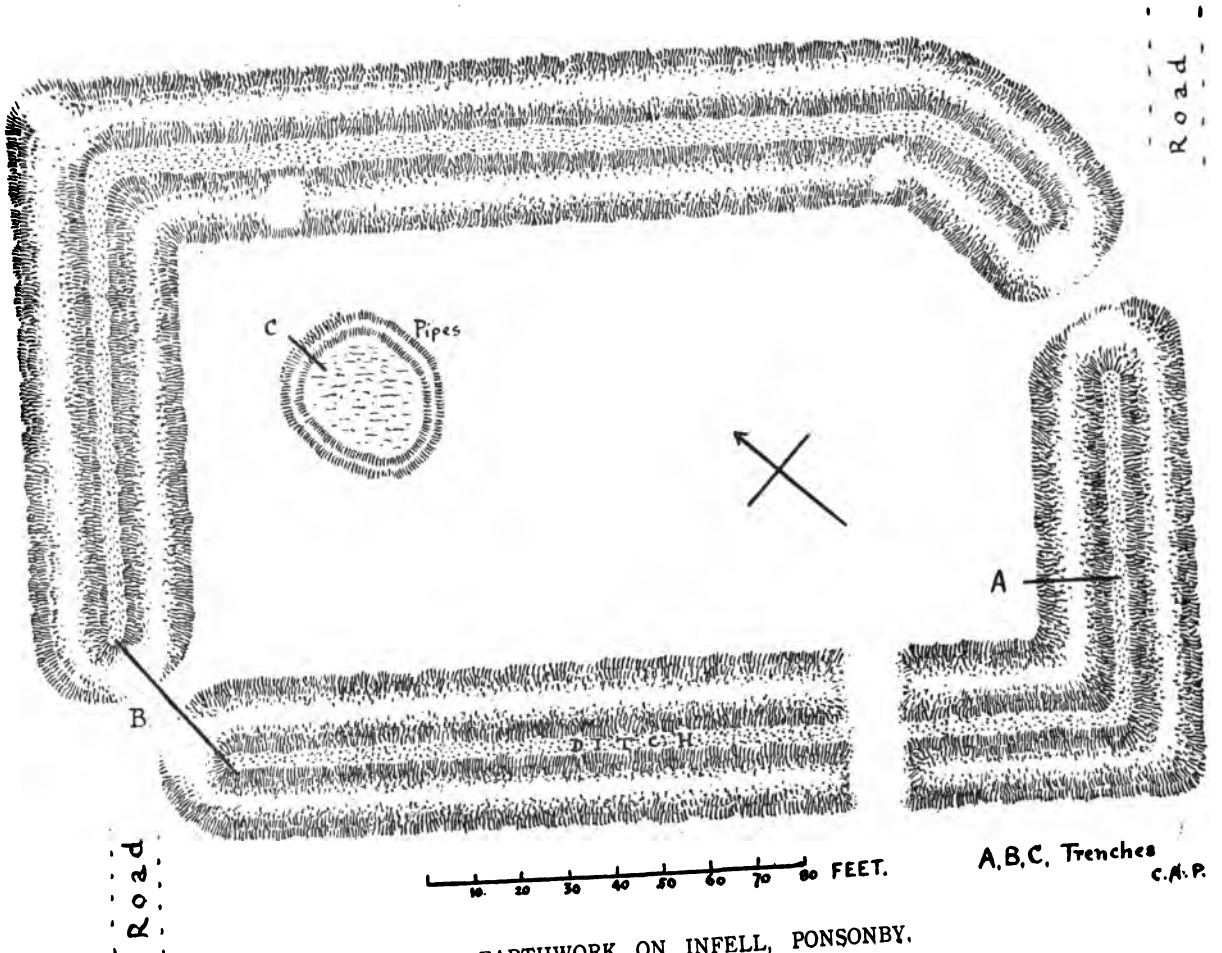
This reference to the Capon Tree is grounded on Hutchinson's *History*, and though as we have already seen there is reason to discredit the story of the Judges dining on capons and other comestibles, there is no room to doubt that they rested under this tree, which stood on such a convenient place for that purpose. The old road by which it stood is a continuation of the ancient Stanegate or Carelgate, the Northumberland portion of which can still be partly traced, ("The Military Road in Cumberland," by T. H. Hodgson, these *Transactions*, N.S. ii, p. 274). We believe also that a considerable portion of it in Cumberland in the Brampton locality can also be

traced. Another reason for believing that the cavalcade halted here is that the tree was a very large one, and though when Hutchinson wrote, it was then in great decay, from the picture drawn by Rev. W. Ford in 1833 we can in some measure imagine what it had been in its prime. The disappearance of the tree has been hastened by the zeal of the younger portion of the population, who used to knock pieces off and take them away as curiosities. Every vestige of this once majestic oak has now gone, but we are glad to know that the site has been (August, 1904) permanently marked by a graceful and appropriate memorial.

In closing we remark that this tree forms the basis on which is written what purports to be an historical account of the executions at the Capon Tree. It appeared in the *London Journal*, Feb. 10, 1855, but is so grossly overdrawn and inaccurate that no reliance can be placed on its statements. The heading is "The Tragedy of the Capon Tree in 1745." In it the writer states that—

> On the anniversary of the execution the spirits of the rebels even in the daytime are seen flitting about with airy ropes round their necks, and incoherent shrieks as if from shadowy forms disturbed are heard . . . . The dread inspired by the sayings and accounts of old wives and father greybeards, of the fearful sights that some of them had seen in this gloomy place, checked even the young and bold from approaching too near the Capon Tree."

And even yet Brampton mothers frighten rebellious youngsters with Capon Tree boggles, but we, more prosaic and matter of fact, leave with regret these and all other traditional tales to be handed down from parent to child as memories of the most famous tree in the neighbourhood.



THE EARTHWORK ON INFELL, PONSONBY.

ART. XII.—*The Earthwork on Infell, Ponsonby.* By C. A. PARKER, M.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Read at Carlisle, September 8th, 1904.

AT the suggestion of Mr. Stanley, the owner of the ground, Mr. Collingwood and I have examined and excavated this interesting earthwork.* We were fortunate in finding workmen who had known the place for many years, and could give some information about it.

Infell, the last heave of the Ponsonby Fells before they subside into the western plain, is a rounded hill, 562 feet in height, to the east of the high road and three miles from the sea. The top is covered with heather, and the eastern slope, on which the earthwork is situated, is planted with larch, but has never been cultivated in any other way.

The enclosure is five-sided, a rectangular oblong with the east corner cut off, and lies just below the crest of the of the hill, so that the ramparts, even if palisaded, would be out of sight from any part of the plain, and visible only from the heights on the east. It is about 82 yards long by 55 broad, but the tangled boughs of the trees render it difficult to measure, and we were obliged perforce to dig where we best could.

Defences.—The defences consist of two parallel earthen banks with a ditch between them. The slopes of the banks fade away imperceptibly to the natural level of the ground, having weathered down, but each appears to have been originally about 15 feet wide at the base. The ditch

* Mentioned by Hutchinson, *Hist. Cumb.*, 1794, p. 26, and other county histories; Chancellor Ferguson's *Archæological Survey of Cumberland;* J. Clifton Ward, these *Transactions*, iii., p. 250; and the present writer, these *Transactions*, viii., pp. 82-84, and *The Gosforth District*, 1904.

is about 8½ feet wide, and at present varies from 4 to 6 feet in depth below the top of the inner rampart, which is as a rule higher than the outer. On the south-east and south-west sides the distance between the crests of the two banks is 20 feet; on the north-east it is 24. A trench dug at A shewed the inner rampart to be composed entirely of earth, and now about a yard in height above the undisturbed soil. The ditch was probably a foot deeper than at present, and one or both banks palisaded.

Entrances.—Original entrances exist at the east and west angles, the two ramparts curving round to join and form sides to the gateway paths, which are 7 feet 6 inches wide. The paths are on the natural level, and both sides of each entrance are now worn away. A trench cut across the west entrance shewed no paving of any kind, simply hard earth; but a sort of core of cobbles was found in one of the sides. Stones are remarkable for their absence, but small pieces of freestone lie about. There is a wide gap in the south-west side which does not seem original, and there are recent gaps in the two banks at the north angle, but not opposite each other.

Tank.—Being so near the top of the hill, there is no water supply possible to fill the ditch. Rather nearer to the north angle than the others, and about equi-distant from the sides, is a circular artificial pond, full of rushes and sphagnum, with water underneath. The earth has been thrown out to make a bank round it, forming a circle 45 feet in diameter. I have seen it open water, and the workmen told us there had always been a dub at the east point, where there was a small spring. They also said that when the dub was cleaned out some years ago many thick-stemmed, small-bowled tobacco pipes were found, which they had seen. A trench, 12 feet 6 inches long and 18 inches deep, dug through the bank at its northern point, proved it to be of earth, faced rudely on the inside with large cobbles, with smaller ones roughly packed behind them, the stonework being three feet thick. The

stones appeared to extend into and perhaps pave the pond.

Roads.—The workmen drew our attention to what they called "the old road" and "the trench" on the moor.* From the east entrance "the old road," which is worn slightly hollow, can be easily traced, winding down the north-east slope to Scar Green Lane, into which it opens through a quaint little gateway of considerable age, only fifty inches wide. From the west entrance "the trench" extends over the top of the hill to the south-west, and then bends to the south, pointing to the hamlet of Ponsonby. After leaving the moor it formerly extended across two more fields, which have been ploughed up. It is a hollow way, about two feet wide and a foot deep, with indications at the sides of earth thrown or kicked out of it, just such a track as would be formed by long driving of stock in the same direction. It is not a water-course. We deemed it to be a stock road, which would join the lane leading from the hamlet of Ponsonby to the main roads.

These roads would render the enclosure easily accessible from any part of the parish of Ponsonby, or from Calder Abbey.

Conclusions.—We have here a post-Conquest earthwork, the shape, the double banks, and the corner entrances of which are characteristic of neither Roman, British, or Anglian work. Its position high up at the back of the nearest hill shews that concealment and accessibility were desired, which agrees with the sites of many pele towers; and the well-defined stock roads and large water tank point to its having been a pelegarth, or refuge for cattle and horses against Scotch raids. Such a place when stockaded could stand a siege of a day or two, which would be as much time or more than raiders could spare. It may well date from the time of the great raids (1296-

* These are not marked on the 25-inch Ordnance Map.

1328), and from the presence of the tobacco pipes appears to have been used down to Elizabethan times.

The motive of the double bank is not quite clear. The outer rampart would be useless unless stockaded, and the stockade must have followed the curves at the entrances. Probably both were stockaded, the inner fence being higher than the outer. The defenders would then have a splendid sitting shot at assailants scrambling over the outer fence, and those that got over would still be confronted by an obstacle twelve feet in height.

A tradition in my family states that on the Parknook estate, in the adjoining parish of Gosforth, on a hill once surrounded on three sides by the swamps of the Bleng, there formerly existed "a walled enclosure called Castle Cary, into which cattle were driven when the Scots were over the Border. This was destroyed for purposes of cultivation about 1818." The same story is told of Foldsteads, Kirkbampton, which is a rectangular enclosure with double rampart and double ditch (these *Transactions*, N.S., ii., p. 413).

[The nearest analogy to Infell earthwork is the five-sided, double-ramparted Crewgarth near Ousby, described in these *Transactions*, viii., p. 66, where a quern and a mortar were found; part of a quern was also found in 1884 about three hundred yards from the Infell earthwork.* Now *kró* in Icelandic means a pen for sheep, and Crewgarth shows by its name that it was intended as a fold, and by its nature that it was a fortified fold. Other so-called "camps" in Cumberland with double rampart are Maiden Castle or Caerthanoc on Soulby Fell near Ullswater, Skewhill on the Eden opposite Grinsdale, and the two small round forts on opposite sides of the Irthing at

* In my possession.—C.A.P.

Naworth and Triermain, known as Tower Tye and Watch Hill. Hayton Castle-hill, a mote, has also a double rampart. As Calder Abbey, which suffered so much from the Scots down to the great raid of 1322, is quite close to Infell, it seems natural to suggest that this pelegarth was perhaps made by the abbey as a refuge for their herds and those of their tenants.—ED.]

ART. XIII.—*Penruddock Presbyterian Meeting-house.* By the REV. JAMES H. COLLIGAN.

Read at Carlisle, September 8th, 1904.

THE documents for the history of Penruddock Meeting-house are few in number. There are no records in the possession of the office bearers, and no Presbyterial references of any importance. The trust deeds are the only official documents, and these are merely the surviving landmarks of a forgotten past. There is, at the farm of Mr. Kitchen, Town Head, a valuable relic of bygone days in the shape of the "parish kist," but various attempts to see its contents have failed. There are four padlocks to it, with four keys. The "kist" cannot be opened unless the four trustees are present. Two of the trustees are dead, and their keys cannot be found. The dilemma is trying to one in search of information. Whether the parish records would contain any reference to the Meeting-house, I cannot say; but it indicates a possible source. Fortunately another fragment of the history was discovered, and is here presented to this Society. In September, 1894, the present writer copied a list of preachers at Penruddock, which had been drawn up at Great Salkeld in 1822 by the Rev. Timothy Nelson, M.A. The list, then in the possession of his grandson, has since been lost, and I have endeavoured to annotate the copy. It would be impossible to give a list of the authorities consulted, or to relate the curious ways in which the information has been gathered.

The legal documents relating to the Meeting-house are as follows:—

(1) An indenture, dated 23rd December, 1712, between Isaac Noble of Bristol and others of Penrith and Penruddock, of the one part, and Thomas Noble of Bristol

PENRUDDOCK PRESBYTERIAN MEETING-HOUSE.

TO FACE P. 150.

and Isaac Malloson, of the other part. The said Isaac Noble grants that piece of ground on the south side of the highway in Penruddock (the highway has been altered, and the place is now known as "Back Lonen"); also that building erected by Isaac Noble, and now used for the Meeting-house and school. It is given for the congregation or society of people at Penruddock, whereof Mr. Joseph Dodson is the present pastor. The Meeting-house is to be used as a school for educating the children of the neighbourhood in all good literature. (The present building was probably built in 1789 upon the original site, Whellan's *Cumberland and Westmorland*).

(2) A lease for a year dated December 22nd, 1712. In this document the Meeting-house is described as "lately erected and built by Isaac Noble."

(3) The release of the Meeting-house in the Croft, dated 23rd December, 1712, apparently the same as document 1, and signed only by Isaac Noble.

(4) A lease for a year, dated 29th October, 1755: Mr. Timothy Lowthion, Penruddock, to his son, Rev. Samuel Lowthion, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Samuel Lowthion was the grandson of John Noble, and was a well-known Nonconformist minister (Nightingale's *Lancashire Nonconformity*, Westmorland vol., pp. 282 and 312).

(5) Release of No. 4 document, dated October 30th, 1755.

(6) Indenture, dated March 15th, 1756, between Thomas Simpson of Penrith, his wife with her two sisters (the three females being co-heirs of Christopher Pattinson of Carleton Hall), of the one part, and Rev. Samuel Lowthion of Newcastle and others of Penruddock and neighbourhood, of the other part. This document relates to the purchase of two parcels of land for £99 10s., viz., Thornat Ings and Five Rood Lands. The profits of the land are towards the support of the Protestant Dissenting minister settled in the congregation whereof Rev. John Dickinson is the late pastor.

(7) Isaac Noble was the longest liver of the said trustees, whereby the eldest son, Nicholas Noble, on his father's death, became heir-at-law. This indenture is dated January 2nd, 1813, and witnesseth that Nicholas Noble hath bargained to Rev. James Scott, minister of the Independent Dissenters at Park Head (Kirkoswald). In this document the Rev. Andrew Rattray is described as the Independent minister of Penruddock. Why Nicholas Noble should have bargained with the Rev. J. Scott we cannot say; as the representative of the last trustee he had possession of the deeds. The trust had been broken, for in the 1712 deed it was enjoined that if the trustees should become reduced to the number of three, they should elect four others with convenient speed. Nicholas Noble appears to have handed the Meeting-house and the deeds for the fields to the Rev. J. Scott. It is here for the first time that the word "Independent" appears on the deeds. Rattray had been settled at Penruddock quite recently.

Attached to this document is one dated 1842, between John Noble of Clifton (Bristol?), farmer, but now of Whitehaven, gent., John Miller of Penrith, the Presbyterian minister (of Penruddock), and H. B. Noble of Douglas, Isle of Man, of the one part, and others of the other part, on the terms of the 1712 deed.

(8) A deed of exchange, no date, between Thomas McGlasson, brewer, Penrith, and others of Penruddock, "trustees of the Presbyterian Chapel." McGlasson conveys the freehold close of land lying on the south side of the Cockermouth, Keswick, and Penrith Railway and called "Schoolhouse Field" in exchange for "Five Rood Lands" in the townfields of Penruddock.

(9 and 10) Both dated October 17th, 1893. These were made when the Rev. A. D. Gray obtained the old deeds from the solicitors of the late Mr. Pollock, Penrith. No. 9 is for the Meeting-house; No. 10 is for the fields. The trustees are mostly resident at Penruddock at the present time.

REV. RICHARD GILPIN, M.A.

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Turning to the history of the cause, we find that it originated from the Greystoke Parish Church, situated about two miles from Penruddock. It was during the ministry of the Rev. Richard Gilpin, M.A. (afterwards M.D. of Leyden University; vide *Album Studiosorum*, 1875, p. 606), that the Nonconforming principle was accepted by the congregation at Greystoke. There is no proof that Gilpin ever preached at Penruddock, as the *Dictionary of National Biography* and McKelvie's *Annals* suggest. The cause, as we know it, was founded some time after Gilpin's departure from Greystoke; but as his influence was felt in its formation, a passing reference may be permitted.

Richard Gilpin was born near Kendal in 1625. Grosart says that among Gilpin's descendants there was the tradition that he had been educated at Oxford and Glasgow Universities ("Memoirs of Gilpin," in *Daemonologia Sacra*, ed. by Grosart: Edinburgh, 1867. Jackson Library). "This book raised Gilpin's fame greatly," Longstaffe's *Barnes*, p. 145 (Surtees Society). The *Dictionary of National Biography* states that he graduated M.A. at Edinburgh in 1646, studying medicine first, then divinity. It is not known where he was ordained or by whom. Grosart says that the first fact in Gilpin's career is the presentation to Greystoke; but he officiated in 1649 as one of the ministers of Durham Cathedral, and received £117 9s. stipend for nine months and seven days (Shaw's *History of the English Church*, 1900, ii., 531; also Longstaffe's *Barnes* for a reference to Gilpin at Durham).

Gilpin was instituted at Greystoke 1652-1653. The parish records were imperfectly kept during his rectorship. Grosart thinks that during this period the living was subject to the Commissioners of Parliament. Gilpin condemned the execution of Charles, but accepted the government of Cromwell. Instead of living quietly at Greystoke, as Prebendary Gilpin states, he took a foremost part in organising that modification of church government

which the abolition of Episcopacy demanded. In 1656 he drew up the articles of Association for the Dissenting ministers of Cumberland and Westmorland, and, in Dr. Drysdale's opinion, they reflect the genius and spirit of Presbyterianism (*History of the Presbyterian Church of England*, p. 368). The form of church government that he adopted at Greystoke was that of a congregation of pledged members forming an Independent "church" in his parish, and similar to that at All Saints, Cockermouth. In Jackson's "Memoirs of Gilpin" (Jackson Library), it is stated that while Gilpin was inclined to Presbytery, he could not be persuaded to sign the Solemn League and Covenant. In 1658 he preached a sermon at Keswick, entitled, "The Temple Rebuilt," which advocated union among all Christians (an imperfect copy in Jackson Library). Gilpin preached at the opening of Carlisle Assizes, September 10th, 1660. When Richard Sterne became Bishop of Carlisle on December 2nd, Gilpin was not called upon to vacate his living. He anticipated the ejection of 1662 by retiring on February 2nd, 1661, to Scaleby Castle, which he had bought. The King, upon the passing of the Act of Uniformity, offered Gilpin the bishopric of Carlisle (MS. vol. of "Memoirs of the Gilpin Family," drawn up by Prebendary Gilpin about 1824, in the possession of Charles Bernard Gilpin, Juniper Green, Edinburgh, in 1867). This offer, which was declined, had been made to his relative Bernard Gilpin in the reign of Elizabeth (vide *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, by W. Gilpin, 1780). Richard Gilpin went from Scaleby Castle to Newcastle about 1668, where until February 13th, 1688, he exercised an important ministry (Grosart's "Memoirs," *Dictionary of National Biography*, Jackson's "Memoirs"). It is to be regretted that in the registers at Greystoke no mention is made of the rectorship of Gilpin.

During Gilpin's ministry at Greystoke the Quaker

movement began in Cumberland.* The doctrines spread probably from Westmorland through Cockermouth. Itinerant Quakers entered the church and disturbed the congregation, even disputing with Gilpin. Several of the leading members accepted the tenets of the new sect. Henry Winder, a yeoman living at Green Close, became entangled, to the grief of Gilpin. A day of humiliation was observed by Gilpin and the neighbouring ministers. The efforts were unavailing. Winder remained a Quaker for some years, holding the position of Receiver of Collections for Cumberland. Then he began to get dissatisfied with their views of the Scriptures and of the Sacraments. In 1663 he was still a member of the Society, and married as his second wife a member of the same sect. In 1665 he and his wife were among the Gilpinites—Gilpin had left the district, and the two Winders formed part of the first Presbyterian congregation at Penruddock (vide "Greystoke Registers," these *Transactions*, vol. i.). In 1673, a remarkable charge of child murder against Winder was brought by two married women, who were Quakeresses from Westmorland. One was Margaret Bradley of Knipe, in the parish of "Banton;" the other was Mary Langhorn of Helton, in the parish of Askham (for probable reference to the death of Mrs. Langhorn, who was a sister-in-law of Winder, vide "Bishop Nicolson's Diary," August 31st, 1684). The two women went to Winder in the harvest field, and accused him of taking his newly-born child and hiding it on Spark-head Moor (now Sparket Moor), on the Hutton John estate, on a common about a mile from Mr. Andrew Huddleston's house. After a year's annoyance, Winder took the case to the Carlisle Assizes in August, 1674. In the meantime, the three women—they had been joined by Margaret Walker of Soulby, in the parish of Dacre,

* The Quaker movement exercised Gilpin throughout his ministry. As late as 1691 we find him discussing the subject during a visit to Scaleby Castle.—Vide Thomas Story's "Journal," p. 41 (Jackson Library).

another sister-in-law of Winder's—had appealed to Mr. Huddleston, a justice of the county, and to Bernard Kirkbride, sheriff of the county. Winder begged Mr. Huddleston to try the case. Both parties met at Hutton John. A particular spot was named as the one where the child had been buried. When the snow melted, a crowd gathered upon the common. "Margaret Bradley with a staff drew a circle of about ten yards circumference, and said she had it by the revelation of Jesus Christ that the child was within that place. So they got some to begin to dig. But the ground proved so hard a gravel that the indifferent spectators advised them to shift to a softer place." Ultimately they had to retire in confusion. Winder brought an action for defamation. The jury sat at Elizabeth Robinson's in Penrith, Mr. William Williams of Johnby Hall being foreman. A verdict was given for Winder with £200 damages (Easter Term, 26 Carl. II.). The full particulars of this very interesting case can be found in the "Memoirs of Dr. Henry Winder," probably by Rev. George Benson, D.D. (a native of Great Salkeld), and published in Dr. Winder's book, *The History of the Rise, Progress, Declension and Revival of Knowledge*, 2 vols., 1745 (Jackson Library).

The following tracts concerning the case are in the Friends' Institute, Bishopsgate, London :—

Winder's Tract, 1696 :—"The spirit of Quakerism and the danger of their divine revelation laid open."
Thomas Camm, 1698 :—"An old apostate justly exposed."
Winder's reply, 1699 :—"A penitent old disciple vindicated from the impudent clamours of Thomas Camm."
Camm's reply, 1706 :—"Truth prevailing over Reason."
Audland's reply to Camm's tracts, principally to the first, 1707 :—"The spirit of Quakerism cloven-footed."
Camm's reply to Audland, 1708 :—"A lying tongue reproved."

Henry Winder was buried at Greystoke, February 9th, 1718, aged 101 (article on "Greystoke Registers," *Transactions*, i., p. 342).

Gilpin was succeeded at Greystoke by Rev. William Morland. He was a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge (Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*). He had been ejected from Greystoke by Sir Arthur Haselrig's Commission. The people were unwilling to receive him as the successor of Gilpin. There occurred "a somewhat remarkable scene." The minority attempted to put John Jackson, the ejected minister of Hutton, into the pulpit. (Walker, in his "Sufferings," has a poor and possibly a prejudiced opinion of Jackson). "The majority did so violently oppose with threats to crush them into the earth, that Mr. Jackson went with his followers into the parsonage house and preached there." (Noble, "Postcript," p. 43.) This was the first meeting held by the men who were afterwards to become the leaders of the Presbyterian congregation at Penruddock.

Among them was a yeoman of remarkable power. John Noble was the leader of the cause after Gilpin left Greystoke. He appears to have had a large estate. In a document dated 1668, which relates to an arbitration case between Edward Rakestraw and Andrew Huddleston, Esq., Noble is one of the largest landowners in the neighbourhood of Penruddock, judging from the customary rents he had to pay. (This document is in the possession of Mr. William Todhunter, Penruddock).

The story of Noble's life is told in a postscript to a sermon which was preached at his funeral on March 14th, 170⅞. This sermon was reprinted in 1818 by a descendant. An original copy and a reprint are in the Jackson Library. A curious difficulty as to the authorship of the sermon has been raised by a third copy in the same collection. In a volume of sermons, entitled *Sermons by Atkinson*, there are eight sermons by at least five authors. One of these sermons is that reprinted in 1818, on Acts xiii., 36 and 37, but the name of Rev. John Atkinson is on the title-page as preacher, while the name of Rev. Samuel Audland appears on the title-page of the reprint.

After some consideration, I am of the opinion that the author of the sermon was Audland, for the following reasons:—(1) The title-page of the sermon in the volume is apparently no part of the sermon, which in all probability is a copy of the original edition. It has not the name of a publisher upon it, and does not bear a date. It has a new appearance, and is unlike a title-page. I surmise that it has been inserted by the one who bound the volume, but the association of Atkinson's name with it is an interesting problem. (2) Audland was at Penruddock in 1708, and there is no record that Atkinson was ever there. (3) The reprint in 1818 was from the 1708 edition, and was published by a descendant of John Noble (vide advertisement). There is no such explanation upon the title-page of the one in the Jackson Library.

The "Postscript" is the valuable part of the sermon, and in all the copies it is stated to be by another hand. The authorship and date are unknown. With regard to the former, the internal evidence would suggest that it was someone who did not know the neighbourhood, and who wrote the sketch at a distance from the spot—possibly one of John Noble's London friends. The name of Atkinson suggests a possibility that he was the author of the "Postscript" and not of the sermon, and this theory could be supported by the fact that there was excommunicated in the year 1684 a John Atkinson, schoolmaster of Motherby, adjoining Penruddock. Whether he was the Rev. John Atkinson of Stainton, Kendal, or the John Atkinson of Crook, Kendal, afterwards of Cockermouth, it is not possible to say (vide Nightingale's Westmorland volume, *History of the Cockermouth Congregational Church*, by the Rev. W. Lewis).

With regard to the date, I should put it shortly after the sermon had been preached. (1) In the original edition of the sermon, there are three short paragraphs in the "Postscript" that are lacking in the reprint. In one of them the following passage occurs:—

Your former pastors were held long on duty; but Dr. G. now is not, and worthy Mr. Sleigh is not, and now J. N. is not . . . . . rejoice in Christ, because He has raised up and set another over you to lead you in the way, the life.

This evidently refers to the settlement of the Rev. Samuel Audland, who went to Kendal shortly after 1708.

(2) The date cannot be later than 171$\frac{8}{7}$, as the following passage shows:—

There is yet living in the parish one Henry Winder, &c.—Vide article on "Greystoke Registers" (these *Transactions*, vol. i.) for reference to Winder's death.

The particulars in the "Postscript" concerning Noble are these:—He was born 1627 or 1628. He inherited two estates in the manor of Hutton John. In his youth he took part in the Civil War, suffering imprisonment; on one occasion, "God provided one to avert a blow when Sir T. F. (Fletcher?) attempted to kill him with a battle-ax." He took part in a struggle with the successive lords about fines and customs. It was begun in his infancy, in the award by Mr. Baron Trevor in the Exchequer, June 27th, 1635. "That fatal suit cost him many journeys to the Term. He never regretted any pains to serve the public in a just cause, and it is known that this has often been so judged in Westminster Hall and in County Assizes. It was of late years that the Master of the Rolls decreed for the tenants. The late Lord Keeper confirmed that decree, and when an appeal was made the House of Peers affirmed the same, January 20th, 1704." He also took part in a tithe case. It appears that the rector of Greystoke collected a tithe called "bushel-corn," by a measure "which anciently contained 16 gallons, but by a certain art had been enlarged to contain far above 20." The tenants appealed to law, "wherefore it was rectified to the common ease." His next experience of law was in Carlisle Goal, when he received six weeks' imprisonment for Nonconformity ("Postscript," p. 44). The Indulgence

gave the Dissenters "a liberty without law." Noble applied for his house to be licensed as a Presbyterian Meeting-house. Unfortunately we cannot specify the house, but after a careful observation we think that it was probably Garth Head, a cottage opposite the present place of worship (*Monthly Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of England*, May, 1903). The recall of the Indulgence did not deter this little company, and they continued to preach. While they were doing so, three men—Whitfield, an old officer in the army; Robson, a proctor and servant to Dr. Smallwood, parson of Greystoke; and Wilkinson, a drunkard—informed Justice Musgrave of a conventicle held in the house of Noble, who was accordingly convicted, and the fine levied by distress ("Postscript," p. 45).

In these disheartening times, "when they could scarce find bread or rest," Noble devoted a son to the ministry, declining the favour of a presentation at Queen's College, Oxford, offered by Dr. Halton of Greenthwaite Hall, Greystoke, Provost of Queen's from 1677 to 1704. This son has been called Joseph by some and Isaac by others, and the confusion has probably arisen through the name not having been written in full; but it is highly probable that the son was the Rev. John Noble, whose memorial sermon is in the Jackson Library, and whose dates agree with those of a student named Noble, who entered Frankland's academy on April 9th, 1692, and died in 1727.

In these days of strain, it is pleasing to read that "his constancy did not degenerate into bigotry, for on just occasions he paid respects to and received courtesies from divers of the Bishops at Rose Castle, and in times of need he would hear the best of the parochial clergy; in his London journeys, lodging in Holborn, he would sometimes hear Dr. Stillingfleet. His public business made him known to Sir George Fletcher, the late Lord Lonsdale and his father, and the Earl of Carlisle, to whom he had free access." It is possible that John

Noble received encouragement from Mr. Andrew Huddleston of Hutton John, who was the first Protestant of the family.

Noble was buried in Greystoke Churchyard on March 14th, 1708, aged 80 years (vide Parish Register). A descendant of his was the late Mr. H. B. Noble of Douglas, Isle of Man, who died last year, leaving large sums to charitable and religious objects. Mr. Warwick Noble, who a few years ago lived at Penruddock, also claims a kinship.

Shortly after John Noble's death, a Meeting-house was erected (vide 1712 deed). What became of Mr. Jackson, who retired with the dissatisfied minority into Greystoke Rectory, I do not know; but the leaders in the movement consulted Dr. Gilpin about a permanent minister. He recommended the Rev. Anthony Sleigh, M.A. According to McKelvie's *Annals*, Mr. Sleigh was a native of the parish. He appears to have been educated at a private academy at Durham. He graduated at Edinburgh University, July 19th, 1660. He was an occasional preacher in Cumberland and Westmorland for two years, when he was "silenced" by the Act of Uniformity. Being ordained later, he settled down to take part in the hardest struggle in the history of the congregation, and as the official head of the Dissenting party in the parish, his position was unenviable. It was during his ministry that the Dissenters were excommunicated as hopelessly defiant. This act took place at Penrith and Great Salkeld about the same time (1684), and was apparently ordered with reluctance by Bishop Nicolson.* A reference is also given to articles against Gilpin by Recorder Aglionby, December 5th, 1684 ("Bishop Nicolson's Diary," part i.). Sleigh's sufferings were almost apostolic (Calamy's *Nonconformist Memorial*, Palmer's abridgement). He remained with the congregation until his death in 1702.

* These *Transactions*, N.S., i. p. 21. Nicolson was then Archdeacon.

The first half century of the congregation's life closed with this event. The times had been tempestuous. (For an interesting analysis of the Acts of that period, vide Lucy Dale's *Constitutional History*, p. 377). The Act of Uniformity had confirmed these men in their Nonconformity; the Conventicle Act had harried them. The Five Mile Act did not mean much for Penruddock, as it was seven miles from Penrith; the Indulgence had been eagerly accepted. The Toleration Act brought about an improvement for the Dissenters, with a consequent relaxation of their opposition. Richard Gilpin's son conformed, and became Recorder of Carlisle. On September 13th, 1706, Bishop Nicolson enters in his diary the significant fact that Mr. Slee of Penruddock, the son of the late Dissenting preacher there, had applied to him for deacon's orders. For a time it seemed as if Nonconformity had exhausted itself in its effort to bring to birth its principles. Throughout the country the ministers who were ejected were becoming fewer. The cultured and affluent among those that remained set themselves to endow the youth of Nonconforming parents with an education that they were prevented from receiving at the recognised centres of learning. In various parts of the country academies sprang up. The first minister at Penruddock who had been trained in this way was the Rev. Samuel Audland—probably a native of Westmorland.* He entered on March 28th, 1699, the academy of the Rev. John Chorlton at Manchester. The teaching of Chorlton was strongly Calvinistic. I cannot find out when Audland went to Penruddock. In 1707 he was there, and published an attack on Quakerism, which movement was at that time affecting the northern counties to a tumultuous extent (vide "Bishop Nicolson's Diary"

* In a scrap book in the Jackson Library, which contains notes and queries, it is stated at No. 1064 that Samuel Audland was not the son of Ann Audland the Quakeress.

and the Winder Tracts). Winder of Penruddock had published in 1696 and 1699 two tracts refuting the charges that the Quakers apparently had been repeating from 1673. In 1705 Henry Winder, jun., began to collect material for a defence of his father's narrative. Audland had the advantage of a draft of this tract. The only other reference to Audland is in connection with John Noble's funeral sermon. He was called to Kendal some time between 1708 and 1712, as the predecessor of Dr. Caleb Rotherham, where he died in 1714, and was interred at that town. (These *Transactions*, N.S., vol. v., article on "Kendal Unitarian Chapel and its Registers.")

The next minister about whom there is any information is the Rev. Joseph Dodson, M.A., although the name of a Mr. Mitchell appears in Mr. Rattray's sketch, but no particulars are given. Dodson graduated at Edinburgh, February 15th, 1709, probably after a training at an academy in the north of England. He may possibly have been connected with James Dodgson of Tallentire (*History of Cockermouth Congregational Church*, Rev. W. Lewis, 1870). His name appears in the trust deed of 1712 as minister of Penruddock. In Dr. Evans' list, dated 1717 (in MS. in Dr. Williams' Library, London), Dodson is referred to as an ordained man at Penruddock, and it is stated, apparently as an afternote, that he removed to Farringdon, Berks., in 1721. In James' *Legislation*, p. 99, he is referred to as afterwards of Marlborough, Wilts., but there seems a doubt about this. His son, Michael Dodson (1732-1799), became a celebrated lawyer (*Dictionary of National Biography*). While at Penruddock, Dodson preached a sermon before the Dissenting ministers of Cumberland and Westmorland at Keswick in 1719 (Jackson Library). The title was "Moderation and Charity," and it may have been borrowed from the famous Matthew Henry, who in 1709 referred to the "moderation and charity" of the Dissenters (James'

Legislation, p. 163). In the preface Dodson explains that he has published the sermon in order to disprove the charge made against him of doctrinal laxity, probably of Arminianism. It does not appear to have satisfied all his brethren, for in 1722 the Rev. John Atkinson of Stainton, Kendal, published a reply, entitled, "Jesus Christ the Son essentially the same with God the Father" (Jackson Library). Atkinson considered Dodson to be an Arian, and although Dodson's laxity does not seem to have been on the question of our Lord's divinity, it was, remembering the devastation that was to come upon the English Presbyterians, a fortunate thing for the congregation that Dodson left Penruddock. For the next few years matters were in a state of unrest at Penruddock. Although there are no records, I am certain that this was one of the most anxious periods in the history of the congregation. The children were wrestling with the half-solved problems left to them by their fathers. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Nonconformity was very strong in Cumberland. In 1717 there were ten distinctively Presbyterian congregations, with 1600 members, from the original English Presbyterian stock. Penruddock was one of the smallest, with 100 members, including three county voters (Dr. Evans' list, printed in James' *Legislation*).

Dodson was followed by the Rev. Samuel Atkinson. Neither Rattray nor Nelson has recorded this name, but it is given in Dr. Evans' list without a date. He may possibly have been connected with the ejected vicar of Lazonby. He is mentioned as having taken part in the ordination of the Rev. Thomas Walker at Parkhead, near Kirkoswald, in May, 1728, so his date would be from 1721 to 1728, or later.

The name of the Rev. Daniel Atkin appears in the list of grants by the trustees of the Lady Hewley Charity in 1728 (James' *Legislation*). There is no other record of this minister at Penruddock, nor can I discover any reference to him in the usual authorities. It is just possible that these two names refer to one person.

The next name is that of the Rev. John Helme, sen. There was also a Rev. John Helme, who probably was at Great Salkeld when his father was at Penruddock. This similarity of name has thrown an ambiguity around the few facts preserved for us, and it is difficult to distinguish the ministry of the father from that of the son. The father appears to have been minister of a Dissenting congregation at Lancaster—probably that which is now Unitarian—in 1730, but he appears on April 10th, 1734, as minister of Penruddock taking part in an ordination at Brampton Presbyterian Church (these *Transactions*, N.S., iii., p. 116). He evidently left Penruddock about 1750, removing to Walmsley, near Bolton, where he was drowned crossing a flood, 11th February, 1760 (*Monthly Repository*, 1810, p. 427). Under him, Walmsley became Unitarian. He is buried in the chapelyard there. The only reference to the son is that he was at Great Salkeld Presbyterian congregation in 1745 or 1746, and removed in 1749 or 1750. He was educated at the well-known Kendal academy of Dr. Caleb Rotherham, a native of Great Salkeld, and a pupil of Blencowe Grammar School.* Although Rotheram's academy was comparatively orthodox, he turned out a number of men with views broader than those held at the time, and I should have been inclined to think that Walmsley became Unitarian under John Helme, jun., had the dates been reconcilable (Nightingale's Westmorland volume).

The minister who succeeded Helme was the Rev. John Dickinson. Rattray's list gives the name as Roger, but this appears to be a mistake. He was born February 11th, 1713, and was no relation of the minister at Carlisle. He entered Kendal academy in 1745, and settled at Penruddock in 1749. In the release, dated October 30th, 1755, he is mentioned as the pastor of Penruddock; and

*Mr. Charles Rotheram, the last of the family, died recently at Great Salkeld, and Rotherham Green has been sold.

in the deed of March, 1756, he is called "the late pastor." He removed to Palgrave, Norfolk, where he was very friendly with the well-known Dr. Priestley in his Arian stage. In 1758 he became assistant to the Rev. Thomas Haynes of Upper Chapel, Sheffield (vide Manning's *History)*, and remained assistant to Haynes' successor, the Rev. Joseph Evans. He died in 1780. He was very popular at Sheffield *(Monthly Repository*, 1810, p. 454).

Dickinson's ministry at Penruddock closes the Academy period. The Academies had done great work—especially Frankland's and Rotherham's at Kendal—(vide Drysdale's *English Presbyterians*, Neal's *Lancashire Puritanism*, Gordon's *Heads of Unitarian History)*. A new period of congregational life began with the Rev. James Biggar. He was a Scotchman, and was at the Presbyterian Congregation at Keswick—now the Congregational Church—in 1730. In 1757 he was called to Penruddock (vide Provincial Minutes). He remained in this charge until 1760, when he returned to Keswick. His death is recorded in the Crosthwaite Parish Register, July 24th, 1784 (these *Transactions*, vol. ii.). He is described as a Dissenting minister, who lived at Stone in Naddle, and who held property in the manor. Stone is about three miles from Keswick on the Ambleside Road, and is now called Piper House, from the fact that a man once lived there who played the bagpipes. This may have been Biggar.

Biggar was succeeded by the Rev. Timothy Nelson, M.A., who was to take a long and honourable part in the history of Cumberland Dissent. He it was who drew up the list referred to above. His knowledge of local Meeting-houses was very great. A number of his MSS. and letters are in the possession of his grandson at the Town Head, Great Salkeld. Nelson was the son of Thomas Nelson, and was born at Great Salkeld, September 16th, 1737. The family have resided in that neighbourhood since 1600. Bishop Nicolson in his diary,

December, 1684, refers to his interview with the Dissenters, and adds :—" Nelson stubborn, ye rest especially Slack & Smith plyable." Timothy Nelson graduated at Glasgow in 1758, and was licensed by the Northumberland Classis (Presbytery) in 1760. He states that he preached at Penruddock in 1761 and 1762, though Rattray says it was from 1761 to 1763. He was minister of the Presbyterian Church at Redwing in Garrigill, near Alston, from August, 1763, to 1801 (records of Alston Congregational Church). We catch a reference to a visit to Penrith, where on June 26th, 1798, he baptised Jane Barclay (records of Penrith Presbyterian Church). In 1801 he removed to the joint pastorate of Great Salkeld and Plumpton, the former apparently being the chief congregation.* In 1827 the congregation provided him with an assistant from the Secession Presbytery of Annan and Carlisle. He died in 1830, and is buried at Great Salkeld.

In the autumn of 1763, according to Rattray's list, a Mr. Smith was at Penruddock for three months. This was probably the Rev. Thomas Smith, afterwards of Haltwhistle. The next name is that of a Mr. Moncrieff, probably William Moncrieff, M.A., who graduated at Edinburgh, 1716. According to Nelson's list, he belonged to Scotland, and went from Weardale to Penruddock, where he remained seven years. Rattray's list states that he was at Penruddock from the autumn of 1764 to June, 1771, when he became superannuated, and returned to Scotland.

The minister who succeeded him was the Rev. John Honeyman, M.A., who graduated at Aberdeen in 1763, and was licensed as a preacher of the Church of Scotland, 1767. His great grandfather, grandfather, father, and brother all held the parish living of Kinneff in Kincardine, the period extending over a century. His father, James

* These congregations were worked by one minister in 1750, and probably earlier. Plumpton was transferred to the Wesleyans in 1888.

Honeyman, was the author of the song, "Hey, bonnie lassie, blink ower the burn" (vide Struther's *Harp of Caledonia)*. His mother was the daughter of Provost Allardyce of Aberdeen. The brother of his grandfather was the Bishop of Orkney, who on one occasion received a shot intended for Archbishop Sharp (Thomson's *History of the Scottish People*, vol. v., p. 153). Honeyman was at Penruddock "a good part of 1771 and 1772." He was called to Penrith Presbyterian Church on August 19th, 1772. The Session Records were kept by him, but chiefly contain entries relating to baptisms and to the distribution of Bibles from the Lord Wharton Charity (vide *The Good Lord Wharton*, by the Rev. Bryan Dale, M.A., 1901). The last entry by him was on February 4th, 1783, but a later entry states that a sum of £7 12s. was taken from the funds, and expended at Mr. Honeyman's funeral. His unmarried daughter was living at Penrith in 1864.

Honeyman was succeeded at Penruddock in 1773 by the Rev. David Johnston, who remained until 1778. Nelson's list states that Johnston came from Scotland. Rattray's list speaks of him as "the reverend and much beloved," adding, "from the autumn of 1773 until 1778, when he returned to Scotland, in bad health." This was probably the David Johnston, a native of Banff, who took his Arts course at Aberdeen between 1764 and 1768, and his Divinity course between 1770 and 1773. He does not appear to have graduated, or to have held a charge in Scotland. He was possibly a friend of Honeyman.

The next name is that of the Rev. Thomas Moresby, who was at Penruddock, 1778-1780. Nelson adds "of Kirkoswald," but as the registers of this congregation—now Independent—do not go back more than half-a-century, we cannot trace the name.

His successor, the Rev. Robert Potts, had a curious career. He was a licentiate of the Presbytery of Jedburgh, and was ordained at Brampton, Cumberland, on

October 16th, 1759 (these *Transactions*, N.S., iii., p. 120). His ministry there for thirteen years was an uneventful one. He was presented to the church and parish of Ettrick in the Presbytery of Selkirk, December 9th, 1772. The sermons of Mr. Potts were the first that the "Ettrick Shepherd" heard, and during his ministry the elder Hogg was ordained to the eldership (vide Session Records). He was loosed from his charge May 9th, 1780, his retirement being due to his drinking habits. He came to Penruddock in 1781 with an allowance of £35 per annum from the Ettrick Parish Church. He died at Penruddock, and is buried in the tiny churchyard.

Potts was succeeded by the Rev. J. Cockburn from Scotland, who remained at Penruddock "for about twelve months." Of him nothing further is known. The Rev. John Beattie probably followed, although no date is given for his ministry, nor can any record of his college career be found. Beattie was appointed by the London Missionary Society to the South Seas, and sailed December 19th, 1799, in the "Duff." After exciting adventures through being captured by a French privateer, he and about thirty other missionaries returned to England, October 13th, 1800, having been sent back from Monte Video (vide *Missionary Ships in connection with the London Missionary Society)*. The official record is to the effect that Beattie was one of a party of missionaries who returned somewhat willingly from the field, and caused inconvenience by claims for monetary compensation from the directors. He took up work at Penruddock, where he did not long remain, in consequence—according to Rattray—of his having embraced the principles of the Sandemanian Baptists. This is evidently the minister to whom McKelvie refers in his *Annals*, but it is hardly correct to speak of him as a Baptist minister during the time he held the charge at Penruddock.*

* About this time the subject of baptism was possibly discussed by several members of the congregation. One of the members was a John Slee, whose

The Rev. Andrew Rattray succeeded Beattie. He was educated at the academy of the Brothers Haldane in Edinburgh, the founders of Scottish Congregationalism, through the result of the Act of 1799 passed by the Church of Scotland ("Scottish Church History," by Walker, in Clark's *Hand Books*, p. 124). Rattray officiated for a short time at Annan, and went to Penruddock in 1812, where he remained until his death in 1829. He is buried in the churchyard there. He instituted the first Sunday School at Penruddock. The mention of his name raises an interesting discussion regarding the polity of the congregation, which has been fully dealt with in the *Monthly Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of England.* Rattray claimed the cause as an Independent one; but there is ample evidence to show that the traditional polity was Presbyterian, and that the transition which occurred in Rattray's time was the result of the unfortunate circumstance that in 1813 all the trustees were dead (vide Trust deed).

After the death of Rattray, the congregation joined the United Associate Presbytery of Annan and Carlisle. The first minister from that church was the Rev. John Miller, a native of Newarthill, near Motherwell. He was ordained at Penruddock, August 5th, 1830, and died at Borrowstounness in 1862, aged 60. He was the village schoolmaster at Penruddock for a long time. During Miller's ministry, the United Associate Synod joined with the Relief Synod, and became in 1847 the United Presbyterian Church. Upon the pulpit becoming vacant, the congregation was declared a preaching station, and a licentiate was sent to take charge of the work. This was the Rev. John Hutchison, B.A. He remained a short time at Penruddock, and proceeded to the United Presbyterian congregation at Renfrew, where he was ordained.

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son Isaac was licensed to the perpetual curacy of Plumpton in 1773, but left to become a Baptist pastor. There are five copies of his farewell sermon in the Jackson Library.

He removed to Bonnington, Edinburgh, where his ministry was very successful. He received the degree of D.D., became Moderator of the United Presbyterian Church in 1897, and died recently. During his ministry at Penruddock, the Meeting-house was refurnished and the porch added.

Hutchison was succeeded by the Rev. D. Y. Storrar, a native of Strathmiglo, Fifeshire. He entered St. Andrew's University in 1850, and was licensed by the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kinross in 1860. He accepted a location at Penruddock in 1864, but returned to Scotland in 1866. He died in 1887, aged 50, and is buried at Strathmiglo.

From that time the individuality of the ministry has been lost, and the congregation has been under the charge of the Penrith congregation. In 1876 Penrith came into the union of congregations that formed the Presbyterian Church of England (vide Synod *Proceedings*, 1877). From that date the Presbytery records specify the changes at Penruddock. Since 1880 there have been about thirty-five licentiates from Queen Square House, London, which college is now represented by Westminster College, Cambridge. Most of this number are at present ordained members of the Presbyterian Church of England.

ART. XIV.—*Kendal (Unitarian) Chapel and its Registers.* By FRANCIS NICHOLSON, F.Z.S.

Read at Carlisle, September 8th, 1904.

THE registers of Kendal Chapel are probably the oldest non-parochial registers in Westmorland. The baptisms begin in 1702, but there are a number of earlier entries, which, though they date from 1687, were evidently not copied into the present book until 1709. There are a few gaps, but the record is fairly consecutive to 1839. The earliest burial is recorded in 1722 in the register of baptisms. In the succeeding thirty-four years there were certainly some burials in the chapel ground, but the register of burials does not begin until 1756. It continues until 1834, and there is also one burial for 1855. Besides the Kendal Chapel register, there is a register of births of children of members of the congregation of Unitarian Baptists, Kendal, from 1801 to 1816, with some later births registered in the same form from 1818 to 1839. The original registers are at Somerset House, and a transcript belongs to the chapel trustees.*

The baptisms include some people of note, amongst whom may be mentioned the Rev. Joseph Bourn of Hindley (1712), the Rev. Samuel Bourn of Norwich (1713-4), John Rotheram, M.D., of Hexham (1719-20), the Rev. Caleb Rotheram of Kendal (1732), Ecroyde Claxton, surgeon (1769), Edward Holme, M.D., F.L.S., of Manchester (1770), and many local worthies.

The burials give the ages at death in most cases—facts which many contemporary parish registers ignore—and

* I have, with the kind permission of the trustees, made a copy of the registers, which I hope shortly to print in full.

in a number of cases the minister has given a reference to the date when the same person was baptised. Interesting entries are those of the young Scot who died on his way home to Wigtown (1778); Thomas Gibson, who added to the endowments of the chapel and the Bluecoat Hospital (1781); James Patrick, linen draper, said to be the prototype of the wanderer in Wordsworth's "Excursion"; John Claxton, surgeon, the ancestor of a well-known Liverpool family (1812); and James Busher, 83, who "was killed by falling down Scout's Scar" (1830).

The early history of Nonconformity in Kendal is somewhat obscure. Dissent did not there originate with an ejected vicar, for William Brownsword, vicar of Kendal in 1662, was a Conformist. A previous vicar was ejected in 1662, but it was from a living in the south of England. In this obscurity Kendal is not alone, for Nonconformists suffered many disabilities in the years following the passing of the Act of Uniformity, and a sect harried by magistrates and conducting its worship in private, if at all, cannot be expected to have left many traces of its existence. Strict laws were enforced against the holding of conventicles, and the Oxford Act (1665) prevented ministers coming within five miles of any city or corporation or of any place where they had been ministers. The strictness of the administration of the laws varied from time to time and in different places, but it was generally sufficiently strict to prevent Dissenters meeting for public worship. Dissenting history of the period must be sought in the records of Quarter Sessions.

After ten years of persecution and suppression the King issued his famous Declaration of Indulgence, an indulgence which would have pleased the Dissenters better if it had been issued with the consent of Parliament, and if it had entirely excluded the Catholics from its benefits. The Declaration was dated 15th March, 1671-2, and by it Nonconformists were allowed to hold meetings for public worship. Licences were to be taken out both for the

"teacher" and the Meeting-house, and though some of the Dissenters had conscientious objections to the Declaration, there was a very general demand for licences. It is in connection with the Declaration of Indulgence that we get the first definite date for Kendal Nonconformity, and the number of licences taken out shows that Nonconformity was at that time in a vigorous condition in the parish. On 13th May, 1672, a licence was granted to Thomas Whitehead for the house of John Garnett, Kendal; on 16th July, George Benson had a licence for his own house in Kendal; on 22nd July, the house of William Syll, Kendal; on 5th September, the house of John Gernet, Kendal; and on 9th December, the houses of James Cork (Cock?) and James Atkinson, Kendal, were licensed.*

All these were stated to be Presbyterian excepting the two last, and it is probable that they also were Presbyterian. Mr. Cock of Kendal, probably identical with James Cork, was a subscriber to one of the works of Oliver Heywood, who may be looked upon as the leader of the Presbyterian party in the north of England. Of those who took out licences in Kendal, Whitehead and Benson appear to have been ministers; and, if so, may be regarded as the first Dissenting ministers in Kendal. Whitehead was probably identical with Thomas Whitehead, sometime rector of Halton, near Lancaster, but ejected in 1662 from the living of Dalton-in-Furness, "a pious, painful and faithful Minister, who study'd to do good in his Place, and preach'd as often as he could to his people, after his being ejected."† He died in 1679, and was succeeded in his congregation by Mr. Benson, who had been ejected from Bridekirk in Cumberland, and afterwards lived at Kellett near Lancaster. He died in 1691.‡ Apparently Benson was

* *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1671-2, p. 503, 550; 1672, p. 352, 379, 579; 1672-3, p. 260.

† Calamy's *Account* (1713), ii., 413.

‡ Calamy (1713), ii., 155, 413.

living in Kendal in 1672, but Whitehead could have been only an occasional visitor. Whether they had different congregations in Kendal does not appear, but it is probable that the licences taken out for Kendal included those for the congregations at Crook and Natland.

Kendal, Crook, and Natland are so close together that it is probable that they at times were in the care of one minister. That the Natland congregation existed at an early date is shown by the fact that Richard Frankland in 1674 "remov'd to Natland near Kendal in Westmorland upon a call from a Christian Society there." * Frankland preached "frequently in his own House, at Kendal, and in several other neighbouring places. From thence, by reason of the Five Mile Act he remov'd to Dawsonfold, about 5 miles from Kendal." † Kendal Nonconformity did not, as Mr. Nightingale ‡ supposes, originate with Frankland, and it is by no means certain that he ever had ministerial charge of the congregation which afterwards built Kendal Chapel; but he doubtless had great influence in keeping Nonconformity alive in Kendal. His greatest service to Nonconformity was rendered in his capacity as tutor of one of those academies by which a learned ministry was made possible to the Dissenters, at a time when the English universities were closed to them. Frankland trained some 300 young men for the Nonconformist ministry. His academy was at Natland from 1674 to 1684, and it is probable that he, his assistants, and his pupils supplied the ministerial wants of all the small congregations in the neighbourhood, with the occasional assistance of men like Oliver Heywood, who seems to have preached whenever he visited his sons, who were studying at Natland.

Soon after Frankland we find the name of James Hulme, who was minister in Kendal at the date of his

* Calamy, ii., 287.
† Calamy, ii., 287.
‡ Nightingale's *Lancashire Nonconformity*, i., 278.

death in February, 1688. In 1702 William Pendlebury of Kendal was ordained, and as ordination, involving power to administer sacraments, was necessarily preceded by licence, giving authority to preach, Pendlebury may have been at Kendal for some time. In 1705, however, he was a minister in Leeds. Apparently it was Pendlebury who began in 1702 the register of baptisms at Kendal Chapel. A gap of two years, 1707 and 1708, in the registers suggests that Kendal had then no settled minister.

Samuel Audland,* the next minister, was educated at Manchester, entering under John Chorlton on March 16th, 1699. He had no bursary from the Presbyterian fund, and therefore was probably an Independent. His first settlement was at Penruddock, where he succeeded Anthony Sleigh, M.A., an Independent minister, who died June 13th, 1702. He was still at Penruddock on March 14th, 1708, when he preached the funeral sermon for John Noble. Audland appears to have removed to Kendal in 1709. He made an effort to record the births or baptisms of the children of his congregation, and, as the result, the register contains the births and baptisms of the children of six families. The earliest of these births was in 1687, but the record is obviously not a contemporary one. Audland died October 24th, 1714, and was buried at the parish church.

It is probable that Samuel Bourn, minister of Crook, officiated in the interval between the death of Audland and the appointment of his successor. At any rate, he is mentioned in the register as baptising two children in 1716, and Bourn's own children were baptised at Kendal. At Crook part of the congregation strongly disapproved of infant baptism, and it is just possible that those who wished such baptism for their children could not get it at their own chapel, and had to go elsewhere for it. So the

* The details of Audland have kindly been supplied by my friend the Rev. Alexander Gordon, M.A.

fact that Bourn baptised children at Kendal might either mean that he was acting as minister there, or that the aforesaid element in the Crook congregation was too strong to allow infant baptisms to take place in the Crook meeting.

In 1716 the greatest of the Kendal ministers was appointed. This was Caleb Rotheram, D.D., and he held the office until his death in 1752. In his time the chapel was built, the date of its erection being 1720, the cost being defrayed by subscription and the sale of pews. The first burial in the chapel ground was in 1722 when Hannah, Dr. Rotheram's infant daughter, was buried. Dr. Rotherham, like Richard Frankland, conducted an academy at Kendal, which served the purpose of a university for Nonconformists. He trained very many young men for the ministry, and probably his pupils were mostly theological students. But young men intended for trade and medicine also spent a year or two under his care. It happens that several members of my family were pupils of Dr. Rotheram at Kendal, as their maternal grandfather, the Rev. Samuel Yates, M.A., of Warrington, had been of Richard Frankland at Natland; and I may perhaps be allowed to draw on my family papers for a few items which, though not directly bearing on the history of Kendal Chapel, have an interest as concerning its most eminent minister, Dr. Rotheram.

In 1735 Samuel Nicholson, afterwards an M.D., wished to study for the ministry under Dr. Rotheram. His father, Matthew Nicholson of Liverpool, wrote to a cousin, Edward Blackstock of Kendal, whose tombstone still stands in the chapel yard, to enquire Dr. Rotheram's terms. The doctor's reply was:—"You may please to acquaint Mr. Nicholson that I have good convenience for lodging his Son in my House, That the Terms on which I take young men are eight guineas a year for lodging & boarding, & four guineas a year for Learning, they find their own Fire & Candle in their Rooms, and wash their

own wearing Linnen, That if they go through a whole course of Mathematicks, as that obliges me to a particular attendance when their other Lectures are over, I have a distinct Consideration for that Branch of Instruction." Modest as these terms were, they were not unduly increased by "extras," as Dr. Rotheram's subsequent accounts show. In one of Samuel Nicholson's letters we get a glimpse of student life at Kendal academy:—"I shall then acquaint you," he says, "with the happiness I enjoyed yesterday in the Company of the most Ingenious men in Westmoreland, I mean Mr. Rotheram & one Justice Shepard the most accomplished Gentleman, Lawyer & Scholar in these Parts. We were shooting all day for Woodcocks & dined with the Justice & were handsomly entertain'd, & had the conversation that was to be expected from Men of Parts, Learning & Knowledge of the World."

Dr. Nicholson's youngest brother, Robert Nicholson of Liverpool, my great grandfather, was also a pupil of Dr. Rotheram's. He became a merchant, and according to the family tradition, sacrificed his interest in a lucrative business rather than continue to trade in slaves after he had realised the wickedness of the business. As Robert Nicholson died in 1779, he must have been one of the first of Liverpool merchants to withdraw from the slave trade from conscientious motives, for it was not until 1787 or 1788 that Wilberforce and Clarkson began their great work which culminated in the abolition of the slave trade in 1807.

After Dr. Rotheram's death in 1752, there appears to have been an interval of a few years during which there was no settled minister. The baptismal register shows that between 1752 and 1756 Mr. Daye of Lancaster, Mr. Dickinson of Penruddock, Mr. Ritchie of Great Salkeld, Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Simpson baptised children, and presumably also conducted services. Evidently the congregation was waiting for Dr. Rotheram's son to be old

enough. Born in 1732,* Caleb Rotheram the younger was only twenty at his father's death. When he was twenty-four, he succeeded his father as minister of Kendal Chapel, being the "unanimous choice" of the congregation. He was ordained August 26th, 1756, at Kendal, and a full account of the ceremony, copied from the "Record of Transactions on the Provincial Meeting of the Ministers of the Protestant Dissenting Congregations in Cumberland," is in the possession of the chapel trustees. It would be interesting to know what has become of the original "Record," a document which would be of the utmost importance to the student of the history of Dissent in Cumberland and Westmorland.

When Kendal Chapel was built, it was held by the trustees on an open trust—that is, there was no doctrinal test exacted from either minister, trustees, or congregation. The effect of the trust being open was that the ministers and congregation could advance with the movement of theological thought. Not being tied down by a creed, and having the utmost freedom in expressing their views, the Kendal ministers and congregation gradually passed from Trinitarianism to Unitarianism. According to a manuscript history of the chapel, prepared by the Rev. E. Hawkes, "the sentiments of Dr. Rotheram were certainly not orthodox, although not avowedly Unitarian. His views on the Trinity seem to have been far removed from those of the Church of England, and were probably the most moderate form of Sabellianism. The sentiments of Mr. Rotheram were Arian, and those of his successor, Mr. Harrison, decidedly Unitarian." Mr. Rotheram's Arianism was always very moderate; and, latterly, he nearly coincided in his views with those of his friend, Dr. Priestley.

It was probably the growing tendency of minister and congregation towards Unitarianism which caused, in the

* Several accounts of Mr. Rotheram state that he was born in 1736. The register of baptisms shows that 1732 is the correct date.

time of Mr. Rotheram, a secession of the more orthodox Presbyterians, who obtained in 1763 a minister from Scotland. This secession eventually developed on Congregational lines, and is regarded as the origin of Congregationalism in Kendal.

Mr. Rotheram was selected by Dr. Priestley to perform the first Unitarian baptisms in Scotland. The baptisms are recorded in the Kendal Chapel register, but took place at Montrose on August 16th, 1781. William Christie, the father of the children, was the first avowed Unitarian in Scotland. As no neighbouring minister would baptise the heretic's children, he asked Dr. Priestley to send him a minister. Mr. Rotheram was the minister selected, and thus it happens that the first Unitarian baptisms in Scotland are recorded in the Kendal register.

Mr. Rotheram died in 1796, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Harrison. Wordsworth was an occasional worshipper at Kendal Chapel during the ministry of Mr. Harrison.* In Harrison's time, apparently about 1816, the Market Place congregation had an interesting addition to its numbers. The Rev. James Kay, who had been pastor of the Congregational Church in Kendal, seceded, and in 1809 established a church of Unitarian Baptists. Mr. Kay left Kendal for America, and in 1816 or thereabouts his congregation united with the older body of Unitarians. Their register of births, not baptisms, thus came into the possession of the Kendal Chapel trustees.

Mr. Harrison died in 1833. His successor, the Rev. Edward Hawkes, had, like many contemporary Unitarian ministers, trouble with the Scotch Presbyterians. In 1823 a society of Scotch seceders [United Presbyterians] was established in Kendal, and by 1838 was turning longing eyes on the Presbyterian Chapel and its endowments, and was threatening legal proceedings to recover chapel and endowments for orthodoxy. The congregation

* *Papers of William Pearson*, 1863, p. 13.

in the Market Place appealed for help to their fellow Unitarians all over the country, and the appeal was responded to, for it was recognised that if Kendal Chapel could not be retained by the Unitarians, no chapel could be. Nothing seems to have come of the United Presbyterian threat, and the legal ownership of Kendal Chapel and of many others was finally settled by the Dissenters' Chapels Bill of 1844.

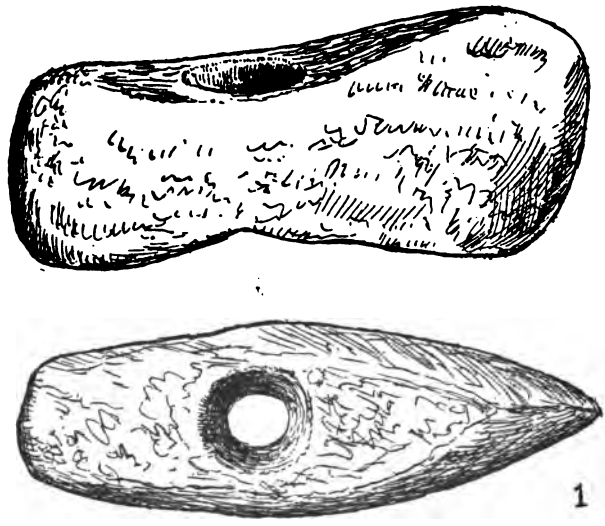
It is not necessary to say anything of the subsequent history of the chapel.

In this sketch I have not endeavoured to write a history of the older Dissent in Kendal, but merely to correct and supplement previous accounts. I have to express my indebtedness to Mr. R. W. Thompson and the other trustees of the chapel for their courtesy in placing their documents at my disposal, and to Mr. Ernest Axon for assistance in the preparation of this paper.

ART. XV.—*Some Miscellaneous Finds.* By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

IN the following pages I give a brief description of a few antiquities, which are either unpublished altogether or unnoticed in our *Transactions.*

The first object is a stone hammer-axe (Fig. 1), found between Windermere Station and the road which leads down to Bowness. Its length is 8 inches, but the shape is a little unusual, the perpendicular measurement at the



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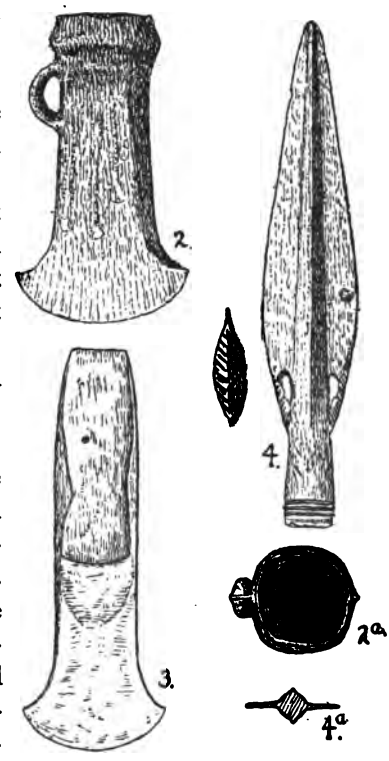
hole being considerably less than at the cutting edge, which is 3¼ inches. The hole itself is also unusual, being slightly oval instead of round. This implement was, and probably still is, in private possession at Ambleside.

In Fig. 2 is shewn a bronze celt belonging to the small

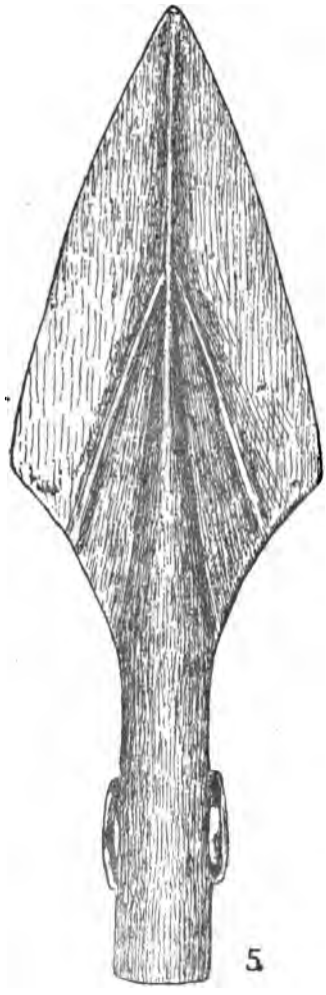
"hoard" or group of celts, found at Urswick in June, 1902; but this example, having become separated from the rest, was not included in Mr. Gaythorpe's note and illustrations in our recent volume (N.S., iii., 410). It is now in my collection. It is a socketted celt, similar in type to the others, and is $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches in length, and perfect; but it has apparently been cast from a very worn mould since the rib and pellet ornament is only just discernible. The weapon is sharpened for use, and the socket end is shewn in Fig. 2[a].



The bronze palstave shewn in Fig. 3 was found at Millans Park, Ambleside, and belongs to Mr. George Tyson. It may be described as a winged palstave, with well-defined stop ridge, and the peculiar shield-shaped ornament characteristic of these instruments. It is $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, and is rather similar to Fig. 80 of Sir John Evans' *Ancient Bronze Implements* (1881).

Bronze spearheads are far from common in our district, but those shewn in Figs. 4 and 5 are both in my collection. Fig. 4 is $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, and has the midrib nearly square in section. It is also made with loops at the base of the blade, outside which the metal is hammered to a lozenge

shape, and ornamented with chevron-like lines. This weapon is said to have beeen found in the walls of Dalton Castle, and came into my possession in 1895.



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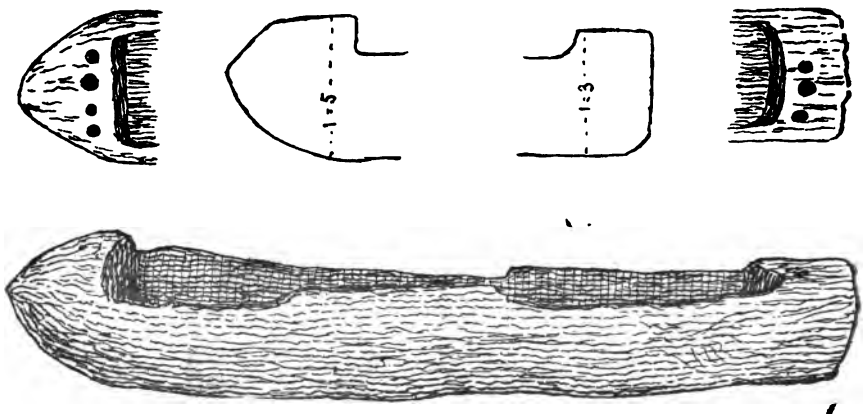
The discovery of Bronze age weapons in the walls of castles or among their ruins is very curious, and this spearhead appears to be the third example of such a find locally. Mr. H. Gaythorpe has recently described a spearhead found in 1871 embedded in the walls of Piel Castle, and apparently built in there in 1324 (these *Transactions*, N.S., iii., 410). The Gleaston Castle bronze celt is said to have been found among the ruins of that fortress in 1776 (these *Transactions*, xv., p. 161). One cannot help wondering if they were by any chance built in as a sort of foundation deposit, or if they were ever used at such a late date.

The other spearhead, shewn in Fig. 5, was discovered about 1886, lying among stones near the edge of Whinfell Tarn, about five miles north-east of Kendal. It is 7⅝ inches long, and belongs to a wide-bladed type hardly known in England, though fairly common, I believe, in Ireland. It is a fine and interesting weapon, and, as far as I can remember,

the reason I never communicated my find to our Society was owing to its having come into my collection during the busy Jubilee year of 1887.

In 1888, however, I exhibited it to the Society of Antiquaries, and also a drawing of the "dug-out" canoe or boat shewn in Fig. 6. This vessel seemed to me, when I examined it, to be made of ash, but I was not quite sure; and it was quite roughly chopped out of a



6.

tree trunk. Its outside length was 10 feet, inside of "dug out" 8 feet, and greatest width 1 foot 7 inches. There were four holes near the bow and three near the stern, as shewn in the sketch; but unless these had to do with fishing, I am at a loss to explain their object.

Although this vessel was found in the tarn where the bronze spearhead was discovered, I am not at all sure it was very ancient. It was only lying at the bottom, and not embedded in bog or mud; and the blacksmith of Patton Bridge told me he had information that it was actually in use forty or fifty years ago. "Dug out" vessels were almost certainly in use on Scottish lochs in

mediæval times, and I am inclined to think that similar home-made vessels were sometimes manufactured for fishing purposes on our own tarns till quite recent times (see *Proceedings, Society of Antiquaries*, second series, xii., 225).

Fig. 7 represents two Roman "jugs" found near the Roman "camp" at Ambleside in the spring of the present year (1904). Both are broken, but they are nicely pieced, and only small fragments are missing. The larger one was found in excavating for a roadway to the two new houses which have recently been built nearly opposite Cross Syke Hill, on the road between Rothay Bridge and

7.

Ambleside. The exact place is very close to the edge of the public road, and the depth of the pot is said to have been nearly five feet. The place is almost half a mile north of the Ambleside fort, and is just outside the limits of the map given to illustrate my paper in these *Transactions*, N.S., ii., p. 31. The pot is of a characteristic Roman type, turned on the wheel, and of a rough red ware; its height 8⅝ inches, and width 5½ inches. The most interesting thing about it is that it has had some

lettering roughly scratched on the side, but with the exception of three letters (apparently C N I) they have been scoured off by over zealous washing since the pot was found.

The other pot is of the same shape but smaller, and of finer clay. Its exact height is 6⅝ inches, and width 4 inches. It was found in cutting back the side of the public road in front of the private hotel close to Waterhead, which is now called "The Grange," but was formerly Waterhead House, and in Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes* appears as "Cockpie Hall." The exact point was nearly opposite the corner of the County Hotel, and one-third of a mile south-east of the Roman fort, and also just outside the map above mentioned. The depth was five feet.

These pots were both found by W. Sharp, a workman in the employ of Mr. A. Jackson, and are now in his possession. He told me that in excavating the ground at a point about fifteen yards to the east of the spot where the bigger pot was found, there was a place which seemed to have been walled round, and there was some discoloured slag-like stuff, which made him consider that smelting had been done here. Small matters like these should be noted, as the actual lines of the military roads into Ambleside camp remain as yet uncertain. The places where these pots have been found must be either very close to, or actually on the lines of road.

I have to thank Mr. W. C. Skelton of Ambleside for drawing my attention in the first instance to these Roman finds.

ART. XVI.—*Some Accounts of Anne, Countess of Pembroke.* BY THE REV. JOSEPH WHITESIDE, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, Sept. 8th 1904.

THESE accounts (would that there were more of them!) are the remnants of a pile of manuscripts committed to the flames by the owner of an estate in the North. The narrow escape of this solitary survivor seems to shew the vast importance of securing as large a membership as possible for the Society, so that, though they may be indifferent to antiquarian pursuits, the representatives of what we call the county families may be induced to remember their responsibilities and to call in the advice of the Council before clearing out the contents of their lumber rooms.

The book consists of thirteen pages of foolscap, being the accounts for August and October, 1673, and of one page, subsequently attached, referring to the Countess' Pillar and the distribution thereon in April of that year. They are written in the very neat clerkly hand * of a secretary who had entered the items at length each day; her ladyship, who was then about 79 years of age, afterwards ran over the the statement, wrote down the figures herself and added up each page, and finally had them examined at the end of the month by Thomas Gabetis,† her "shiriffe" and auditor.

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* "Her books of account were most exactly kept."—See Nicolson and Burn, 294-303.

† Gabetis was buried in Brough Churchyard. A mural tablet on the east wall of the church has these quaint lines:—

Thos. Gabetis Esqre
The Wise, The Eloquent, the jvst,
Lyes here interr'd Amongst ye dvst
Below, who Forty Years and more
Was sheriffe, Now is Heaven's Store,

The accounts are interesting as giving a very happy picture of the homely life and virtuous character of a great lady of Westmorland in the seventeenth century; they bear out most exactly what we are told of her by George Sedgwick, whose account is contained in Nicolson and Burn's *History*, from which the quotations in the footnotes are made. Unlike the modern magnate, she is seen to be busy with the management of her own estates, and to have a personal inside knowledge of her castles; no detail is too important, and none certainly too trivial for her consideration. It goes to one's heart to read of an allowance for a cat! The local tradesmen of her day have no reason, like their successors, to grumble because the "big houses" deal at the "stores" or use the parcels post. Lady Pembroke encourages the shopkeepers of the town, and buys her own dresses, not to mention her garters, in Appleby. It is not "bad form" for a lady to take snuff, according to the approved fashion of the time; she purchases a pound of the best Virginian tobacco for her own use. With remarkable simplicity she chronicles the "clipping of all the hairs of her head" by one George Goodgion, who was truly a very handy man, the Countess' *factotum*, buying for her plums and gallipots, fetching white thread from Yorkshire to make her stockings, and going to Craven with Thomas Strickland for the receiving of rents. Her charity knows no narrow bounds. There are frequent entries of presents of money to lame and deaf people in her almshouses, tips to children of neighbouring families, gifts of scarlet cloth, linen and gloves (all pur-

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Was Fresh and Understanding Too
At 86 As Those That Woo.
When Death Wth Crooked Syth & glass
Set out ye Bovnds he shud not Pass,
Saint Like his Sicknefs And his Death
Admir'd By all: His parting Breath
So Sweet As Might Perfvme ye Earth.
Doubtless ye Spottless Sovle of His
Is gone into Eternal Blifs.
Obiit 25 Die: Martii
Anno Salutis 1694.

chased locally) to various un-named people, and gratuities in sums of 5s. to £1 to servants of the gentry. In fact, anyone who did anything or almost nothing was more than sufficiently rewarded. Nor did she disdain to receive sweetmeats, &c., in return from neighbours desirous of shewing their respect and affection.

Her piety was conspicuous, and religious actions are mentioned in the most natural manner—how she bought and distributed books of devotion, how she helped the distressed wife of a clergyman, how she and her household received the Blessed Sacrament in her Castle.

Appleby was her chief residence, and it must have been a delightful place to visit or to reside in, with so courteous a dame as hostess, whose hospitality was so profuse, and where beer and wine flowed so freely!! The household consisted of a housekeeper (who was always a man), a cook, butler, under-butler, porter and barber, brewer, coachman, chief groom, under-groom, postilion and warriner, who are enumerated; but there must have been subordinate servants. The Castles of Brough and Brougham were occupied by housekeepers on board wages. There are further entries relating to Bardon Tower and Pendragon.

Though there is nothing of any real importance, the perusal of the accounts leaves one with a feeling of irritation that hundreds of similar monthly accounts have been so thoughtlessly destroyed.

AUGUST IN 1673 *

[Page 1]

Payed the 14th day to Mr Thomas Strickland for drawing ye Platform & draught of Pendragon Castle † Twenty Shillings of this money Six Shillings and Tennpence ye remainder being entered upon a labell off: 96 : 13s : 00d : Westmorland Rents 0 . 6 . 10

* This was two years before her death. She came north after the death of the Earl of Pembroke in 1649.

† All her castles were in ruinous condition and were restored at a cost of not less than £40,000.

Payed the 15: day to Allan Strickland for this weeks expences of my Housekeeping here at Appleby Castle from ye 8: day of Aug^st till this day Thirteene Pounds ffourteene Shillings & Three Pence besides ye provission of my owne in store (as by ye Booke will appeare) which with ye ready money comes to in all	22 . 03 . 03
Given then to Mr Edmond Sandford ye deafe gentleman Twenty Shillings	1 . 0 . 0
Payed then to John Grigson of Ormside Junior ffor 50: bushells of Oates at 2^s: 6^d: per Bushell for my Stables att this Appleby Castle—comes to in all Six Pounde ffive Shillings	6 . 5 . 0
Deliver'd then to Mr Thomas Strickland to buy his Eldest Daughter * Anne som sheep Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Given then to Lancelot Machell Mr Stricklands man ffive shillings	0 . 5 . 0
	23 . 11 . 0

[PAGE 2]

Payed the 16: day to John Swewell Richard Browne and others both of Brough and Warcopp for Eight Score and two loads of coales from my owne Pitts on Stainemoor at 12^d per load for firing for my House at this Appleby Ca: comes to in all Eight Pounds and Two Shillings	8 . 2 . 0
Payed then to Robert Jackson of Brough and 2: others for 3: carts for carriing six bedds from hence to Brough Castle which were lately brought from thence hither against ye Assizes here ffour Shillings and Sixpence	0 . 4 . 6
Payed then to Mr William ffairer of Ormside chiefe Constable of ye East Wards for ye second quarterly paym^t of ye 18: months Assesment for my Lands about Appleby granted by ye Parliam^t for ye supply of his majesty's Extraordinary Occations One Pounde One Shilling and Three Pence	1 . 1 . 3
Given then to Mr William ffairer of Ormside Tenne Shillings	0 . 10 . 0
Given then to Robert Harrison my Housekeeper of Brough Ca: ffive Shillings	0 . 5 . 0

* The Countess had "withal a noble heart and an open and liberal hand to do good generally to all."

Payd the 18: day to Mr George Sedgwicke* for 2: yards and 3: quarters of fine Scarlett Cloth at 29s per yard which he bought for me at Kendall to give away † comes to in all Three Pounds Ninteen Shillings and Nine Pence	3 . 19 . 9
Payd then to Mr Thomas Carlton now Major of Appleby for a Rundlett of Clarett wine containing 13: gall: at 4s per gall. £2: 12s: 0d: and for the Rundlet 2: 6: for my house use ‡ at this Appleby Castle comes to in all Two Pounds ffourteen Shillings and Six Pence	2 . 14 . 6
	16 . 17 . 00

[Page 3]

Payed the 18: day to Mr Thomas Carlton for 10 bushells of malt at 5s per Bushell for a Brewing of Beere for my house use att this Appleby Castle comes to in all Two Pounds and Tenn Shillings	2 . 10 . 0
Given then to Mr Charles Crow § Parson of Warcopp & his wife Twenty Shillings	1 . 0 . 0
Given then to Mr Edward Guy and his wife for looking to my garden here at this Appleby Castle Tenne Shillings	0 . 10 . 0
Payd then to Mr Edward Guy of Appleby for a pound of then best Verginian Tobbacco for my owne taking ffour Shillings	0 . 4 . 0
Given the 19: day to Mr Georg Sedgwick‖ one of my chiefe officers at his now going away from mee towards his owne house near Kendall Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Given then to Thomas Whaley Mr Georg Sedgwicks man ffive Shillings	0 . 5 . 0

* In Kendal Church is a monumental inscription to this George Sedgwick of Collinfield. See Nicolson and Burn, i., 303.

† "In what castle soever she then lived, every Monday morning she caused ten shillings to be distributed among 20 poor householders of that place, besides the daily alms which she gave at her gate to all that came."

‡ "Exceeding temperate was she in her diet."

§ Charles Crow was instituted to Warcop in 1663, on the presentation of Richard Braithwaite.

‖ See Nicolson and Burn, i., 294-303. He had been in her service eighteen years before retiring to Collin Field, towards the purchafe of which she had given him £200.

Payed then to George Dent of Appleby for two great large Stocklocks* he made for mee to give away Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Given then to Mr John Thwaits of Appleby Tenne Shillings	0 . 10 . 0
Given then to Samuell Mitchell, when he now brought mee a letter from Mr Thomas Percivall Six Shillings	0 . 6 . 0
Payd the 20: day to Wm Marshall the Taylor of Bongate for making a Black Cloth Gowne † for mee : 10s : and for things for ye making of it up, as per Bill £1 : 9s : 6d : in all comes to One Pound Nineteene Shillings & Six Pence	1 . 19 : 6
	11 : 04 : 06

[Page 4]

Payed the 20th day to Mrs Bridget Pinder wife to Mr Richard Pinder of Kirby Stephen 4 : dozen of gloves vizt one dozen of buff gloves for men at : 5s : 6d : per pair £3 : 6s : 0d : & : 3 : dozen of gloves for women at 1s : 4d : per paire : £2 : 8s : 0d : to give away comes too in all ffive Pounds & ffourteen Shillings of this money Seaven Shillings and ffive pence the Remainder being enterd upon a labell off : £270 : Craven Rents	0 : 7 : 5
	00 : 07 : 05

	£	s	d
Recd	52	00	00
Disbd	52	00	00

Exd T Gabetis

So all this Fiftey-tow poundes is disbursed for me by my order.

* I cannot find "stocklock" in any dictionary. A muzzle-loader is suggested, but I think it is excluded by the epithets "great large," which insinuate that some of the species were "little small," and guns would hardly be so described. Recently having a Brigsteer joiner at work in Helsington vestry, I asked him if he knew what a "stocklock" was. He pointed to the floor and said, "Why, theer's yan." It was a heavy lock in a wooden frame just taken off the door. These may have been getting fashionable in place of the bars, beams, or stocks, that slid into sockets in the wall, and the Countess gave the novelties as presents. This explanation satisfies the epithets; the price seems prohibitive, but the good lady added large gratuities to her payments, as we see later on, when George Goodgion receives 6s. for cutting her hair. At Collin Field is a large lock initialled "A P." Mr. G. F. Braithwaite, these *Transactions*, vol ix., p. 191, says that the Countess was fond of giving away such locks along with a portrait of herself. Brigsteer, by the way, is one of the most likely places in Westmorland where ancient words and ways may linger longest.

† "She wore always, in her latter days, very plain and mean apparel, indeed far too mean for her quality. A petticoat and waistcoat of black serge was her constant wear, nor could any persuade her to wear others."

OCTOBER IN 1673.

[Page 5]

Payed the 3d : day to Edward Smith my Coachman his halfe year's wage's due to him at Michaelmas last Three Pounds & Tenn Shillings of this money Eleaven Shillings & Six pence ye remainder being enterd upon a labell off : £270 : 00s : 00d : Craven Rents	0 . 11 : 6
Payed then to John Hall the chiefe Groome of my Stables his wages due to him then Two Poundes	2 . 0 . 0
Payed then to Abraham ffittin my Postillian his wages due then Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Payed then to Isaac Walker another of then Groomes of my Stables his wages due then Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Payed then to Georg Paget my Porter and Baker his wages due then Two Pounds & ffive Shillings	2 . 5 . 0
Payed then to John Harrison my Brewer his wages due then Two Pounds and ffive Shillings	2 . 5 . 0
Payed then to Arthur Swindin my Under-Butler his wages due to him then Two Poundes	2 . 0 . 0
Payed then to Thomas Cornell Mr Ed: Hasells man his wages due then Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Payed then to William Johnson my Housekeeper of this Appleby Castle his wages due then Two Poundes	2 . 0 . 0
	17 : 01 : 06

[Page 6]

Payd the 3: day to Mr Branthwait who lives in Pendraggon Castle his alowance for coales for fireing for my House there for halfe a yeare ending at Michaelmas last past Three Poundes	3 . 0 . 0
Payd then to Allan Strickland for this weekes Expences of my Housekeeping* here at Appleby Castle from ye 26: of Sept last untill this day ffive Pounds Tenne Shillings and ffive Pence, besides the protvission † of my owne in store as by the Booke will appeare comes to in [all] £08:12s:05d:	5 . 10 . 5

* "All the groceries, spices, stuffs & the like which she used in her house, all wines, malt, hay, corn & straw for her stables, she bought of neighbours and tenants near the place of her then residence."—See Nicolson and Burn, p. 302.

† 'Protecssion' has first been written, then changed as above, the 't' remaining uncancelled.

Given then to Amy Waller the lame woman of my Almeshouse here at Appleby Two Shillings and Six Pence	0 . 2 . 6
Payd then to Mr Hugh Raw of Kirby Stephen for 55: Books of Devotion of Mr John Rawlet's * writeing who is now minister of Kirby Stephen which I buy to give away comes to Three Pounds ffive Shillings & ffour Pence	3 · 5 · 4
Sent then to Mr William Guy † of Watercrook for some Quinces and Apples he now sent mee Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Given then to Robert Hartley Mr Wm Guys man Eight Shillings	0 . 8 . 0
Payd the 4: day to George goodgion for clipping off all the Haires of my Heade in my chamber at this Appleby Castle which I had not done since the 6: of Augst last till now Six Shillings	0 . 6 . 0
Payd then to Henry Bonson my Herd at Southfield his halfe yeares wages due to him at Michaelmas last Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Payd then to Mr Thomas Gabetis my Shiriffe as he is my Auditor his halfe yeares wages due to him at Michaelmas last past Tenne Pounds	10 . 0 . 0
	26 : 12 : 03

[Page 7]

Payd the 4: day to Dorrathy Wiber the deafe woman of my Almshouse here at Appleby for 18: yards of Bonelace to give away Twelve Shillings	0 . 12 . 0
Payed the 6: day to Richard Lowis my Housekeeper at Brougham Castle his halfe yeares wages due at Michaelmas last, Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Pay'd then to Richard Lowes my Housekeeper att Brougham Castle for his Board wages for 10: weekes, vizt from the 30: of July last to the 8th instant at 2: 6: per weeke 30s: and for keeping his Catt that time at 3d: per week 2: 6: comes to in all One Pound Twelve Shillings and Six Pence	1 . 12 . 6

* John Rawlet, M.A., was instituted to Kirkby Stephen in 1673. He was "the author of a volume of divine poems, and of a book yet well known by the name of *The Christian Monitor*." Nicolson and Burn, i., 538.

† See Nicolson and Burn, i., 78.

Given then to Mr James Bird the Atturney Tenne Shillings	0 . 10 . 0
Given then to Henry Low who served Mr Gillmore and who is now going away ffive Shillings	0 . 5 . 0
Payed the 7th day to Michaell Steadman Rich: Browne Thomas Towneson and others both of Brough and Warcopp for Six Score and Two Loades of Coales from my owne Pitts on Stainemoore at 12d: per Loade for ffireing for my House at this Appleby Castle comes to in all Six Pounds and Two Shillings	6 . 2 . 0
Payed then to Mr Thomas Carleton of Appleby Castle * for a Rundlet of Sacke containing 13: gallons at 10s: per gallon £06: 10s: 00d: and for the Rundlet 2s: 6d: for my House at this Appleby Castle comes to in all Six Pounds Twelve Shillings and Six Pence	6 . 12 . 6
Payd then to francis mason my Warriner his Quarters wages due at Michaelmas last One Pound & ten Shillings	1 . 10 . 0
Payed then to ffrancis mason for the keeping of 3: ffirrits the same time vizt a quarter of a yeare Sixteen Shillings and Three Pence	0 . 16 . 3
	20 : 00 : 03

[Page 8]

Payed the 8: day to Mr. James Buchanan † our Parson of Appleby when he now preached a good Sermon ‡ to me and my family in my Chamber att this Appleby Castle Twenty Shillings	1 . 0 . 0
Pay'd then to Mr James Buchanan when he now administered the Blessed Sacramt of Bread and wine to me and them Twenty Shillings	1 . 0 . 0
Payed then to James Thwaits ye Clark of Appleby for his paines five Shillings	0 . 5 . 0

* 'Castle' has probably been written in error.

† He was instituted to St. Lawrence, Appleby, in 1661.

‡ "She and her family received the sacrament at least four times in the year, and, if she removed to some other of her houses, then also with a sermon. She had in the worst of times the liturgy of the Church of England only in her own private chapel, when she never failed to be present at it, though she was threatened with sequestration."

Given then to George Goodgion Edmond ffoster and Allan Strickland for their paines 5s: apiece in all ffifteene Shillings	0 . 15 . 0
Pay'd then to John Demaine for 30: yards of Linnen Cloth to give away as also for my owne use at 2 : 8 : per yard comes to in all ffour Pounds	4 . 0 . 0
Payed the 9: day to Robert Harrison my Houskeeper of Brough Castle his halfe yeares wages due at Michaelmas last ffoure Pounds	4 . 0 . 0
Pay'd the 9th day to Mr Thomas Carlton of Appleby for a Rundlet of white wine containing 14: gallons at 4s: per gallon and for the Rundlet 2s: 6d: for my House at Appleby Castle comes to in all Two Pounds Eighteene Shillings and Sixpence	2 . 18 . 6
Given then to Thomas Barton youngest sonne of Mr Robert Barton of the Breeks Two Shillings and six pence	0 . 2 . 6
Payed then to George Goodgion for too Sugar loaves he Bought for mee for the preserving of Plumms 7s: 2d: and for 6 gally Potts to put them into 1s: 6d: comes to in all Eight Shillings and Eight Pence	0 . 8 . 8
	14 : 09 : 08

[Page 9]

Given the 9: day to John Demaine whose mother is my Housekeeper at Barden-Tower * ffive Shillings	0 . 5 . 0
Payd the 10th day to Allan Strickland for this weeks Expences of my House keeping here at Appleby Castle from ye 3: instant to this day ffive Pounds Six Shillings and ffive pence besides the provission of my owne in Store as by the Booke will appeare, which with ready money besides wine and ffireing comes to in all £08 : 05s : 05d	5 . 6 . 5
Given then to Arthur Swindin for assisting Mrs Pate in Preserving of Plummes Two Shillings & Six pence	0 . 2 . 6
Payd the 11: day to Robert Wharton of Scattergate for severall dayes worke in mending my Park wall at this Appleby Castle Nine Shillings & Eight pence	0 . 9 . 8

* Barden Tower was "thrown down and demolished in the late unhappy ars," but "re-edified" by her ladyship.

Payd the 13th: day to John Taylor ye Milner att Bongate for 10: bushells of malt at 5s: per bushell for one Brewing of Beere for my House use at this Appleby Castle comes to in all Two Pounds and tenn Shillings	2 : 10 . 0
Payd then to George Goodgion for 10 yards of ffustian for mee att 1s: 3d: per yad 12s: 6d: & for a pare of Bodyes he allso bought for mee for my own use 3s: 8d: comes to in all Sixteene Shillings and Two Pence	0 . 16 . 2
Given the 14: day to my Cozen Mr Thomas Burbeck* of Hornby to carry to his two Children Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
	11 : 09 : 09

[Page 10]

Payed the 14: day to Mr Thomas Gabetis my Shiriffe as he is my Audtr when he now read over to me and Examined [in] my Chamber the Deceased Mr Robert Collings accompts for Craven for this last yeare ending at Whitsontide last in in 1673: which I gave my Allowance to by Signing them with my Hand Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Payed the 15: day to Mr Thomas Strickland receivor of my Rents in Westmerland his half yeares wages due to him att Michaellmas last Tenne Pounds	10 . 0 . 0
Payd then to Lancelot Machell Mr Stricklands man his wages due then Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Payed the 16: day to Mrs Grasty† the parsons wife of Brougham by her servant Christopher Milburn for 16: Cheeses weight 206 lbs & a halfe att 4d: per Pound ffor my House use comes to in all Three Pounds Eight Shillings & tenn pence	3 . 8 . 10
Given then to Christopher Milbourn Mrs Grasty's man of Brougham for bringing these Chieses Two Shillings and Six Pence	0 . 2 . 6
Payed the 17th day to Allan Strickland for this weekes Expences of my House keeping here at Appleby Castle from the 10th instant to this day Nine	

* See Nicolson and Burn, i. 399.

† Samuel Grasty was instituted in 1664, and died in 1680.

Pounds and Nineteen Shillings besides the provision of my owne in Store (as by the Booke) comes to £12 : 18s : 00d :	9 . 19 . 0
Pay'd then to Renold Bayly & Clement Morisby for 32 : days worke for felling of woode in flake Bridge and cutting of it for my House at this Appleby Castle comes to in all One Pound and Twelve Shillings	1 . 12 . 0
	29 . 02 . 04

[Page 11]

Payed the 17 : day to young John Gregson of Ormside for 30 : bushells of oats at 2s : 8d : per Bushell for my stables at this Appleby Castle since the 16 : of September last comes to in all ffour Pounds	4 . 0 . 0
Pay'd then to Peeter Robinson of Morland for felling of wood in Whinfield and Sowinge of it into Boards for Brougham Milnes vizt for making two new doores mending the Miln End and putting two new Thressholds and setting up Stoths* with other worke as per agreement comes to in all ffour Pounds Seaven Shillings and Six pence	4 . 7 . 6
Payd then to John Winter of Morland for ffelling of wood in Whinfield and sowing of it for Brougham Mills, vizt ffor making new ffloodgates, new staples, new planting the wheele cazes, new Needles and putting in of a new Sill at the out mill with other work as per agreett comes to in all Three Pounds and twelve Shillings	3 . 12 . 0
Payed then to John Winter wch he is to Repay to severall persons for the Leading of affuther and 20 cart Loades of wood out of Whinfield to Brougham Milns One Pound & tenne Shillings	1 . 10 . 0
Payd then to John Webster for looking after my sd work at Brougham Mills 6 : days at 1s : 4d : per day Eight Shillings	0 . 8 . 0

* Stoths or studs are the intermediate posts, as in a wooden partition, to which laths are nailed. A.S.—*Studu*. The noun is obsolete, and is not given in *Eng. Dial. Dict.* Stooths was the more usual spelling. The verb "stoothe" is common enough in the northern counties, and denotes to make a stoothing or false wall of battens, laths and plaster.

Payed then to John Webster for 10: Bushells of mault at 5s per bushell for one Brewing of Beere for my house use at this Appleby Castle comes to in all Two Poundes and tenne Shillings	2 . 10 . 0
	16 . 07 . 06

[Page 12]

Given the 18: day to Bernard Bowron Mrs Brasses man when he now came hither with his mistresse and brought mee a present of Sweetmeats Six Shillings	0 . 6 . 0
Given then to Mrs Elizabeth Cleburn and Brass when she brought me a present of Sweetmeats Two Pounds	2 . 0 . 0
Given then to here Sonne Mr Thomas Clebron Twenty Shillings	1 . 0 . 0
Payed the 21: day to the widdow Anne Becke of Appleby for makeing 6: double fustian cloaths and a pair of Garters for mee Two Shillings	0 . 2 . 0
Payed the 23: day to Georg Goodgion for some White Thred he bought for mee in Yorkshire for making mee 4: paire of Stockings ffive Shillings and Eight pence	0 . 5 . 8
Given then to John Kinge ffrancis Demaine & Thomas Kitchen when they now came with Mr Strickland with my Rents out of Craven 5s apeece in all ffifteene Shillings	0 . 15 . 0
Payed the 24: day to Mr Thomas Strickland and George Goodgion for the charges of themselves & Mr Stricklands man from hence to Skipton for my Craven Rents due at Michaelmas last and for theire charges there and back againe wth my said Rents lying out about this and my other Buisiness 6: dayes with their horses as allso for the charges of John King Francis Demain and Thom: Kitchen back hither with them In all Three pounds and four shillings	3 . 4 . 0
Given then to ye sd Mr Thom: Strickland for his paines and care about bringing my Craven Rents to me Twenty Shillings	1 . 0 . 0
	08 : 12 : 08

[Page 13]

Given the 24: day to George Goodgion for his paines and assistance in ye s^d Journey Tenne Shillings	0 . 10 . 0
Given then to Lancelot Machell Mr Thomas Stricklands man who went with them for my said Craven rents, ffive Shillings	0 . 5 . 0
Payed then to Allan Strickland for this weekes expences of my Housekeeping here at this Appleby Castle from the 17: instant to this day ffive Pounds Eight Shillings and Two pence besides ye provision of my owne in store (as by the Booke will at large appeare) which with ye ready money comes to in all 08 : 07 : 02	5 . 8 . 2
Payed then to George Harrison John Donkin Richard Browne and other's of Brough and Warcap for Seaven Score & Ten loads of Coales from my owne pitts on Stainmore at : 12^d per load for ffireing for my house at this Appleby Castle comes too in all Seaven Pounds & Tenn Shillings of this money Eleaven Pence ye remainder being entered upon a labell off : £334 : Craven Rents	0 . 0 . 11
£ s d 150 : 00 : 00	06 : 04 : 01

So all this Hundred and ffifftey poundes
is disbursed for me by my order

Ex^d per Tho : Gabetis

[Page 14]

Received the 14: day of March 167⅔ of Thomas Meeson of Brougham One Pound Sixteen Shillings & ffour pence being ye old Rents of Assize belonging to Brougham Hall Demesne for one whole year & due to me at Martinmas last past	1 . 16 . 4
Which : £01 : 16^s : 04^d : was distributed by my order as usuall upon ye 2^d day of Aprill in 1673: at ye Pillar near Brougham Castle to the poore of y^t Parish which Pillar I caused to be erected at y^t place in memory of my blessed Mothers' & my last parting ye 2^d day of Aprill ye remainder being paid out of my Private Purse on a labell off: £336 : 01^s : 05^d Westmorland Rents to make it up ffour Pounds	1 . 16 . 4

Ex^d Tho: Gabetis
Auditor

Anne Pembrooke

ART. XVII.—*On a Sculptured Trough in Tullie House Museum.* By W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

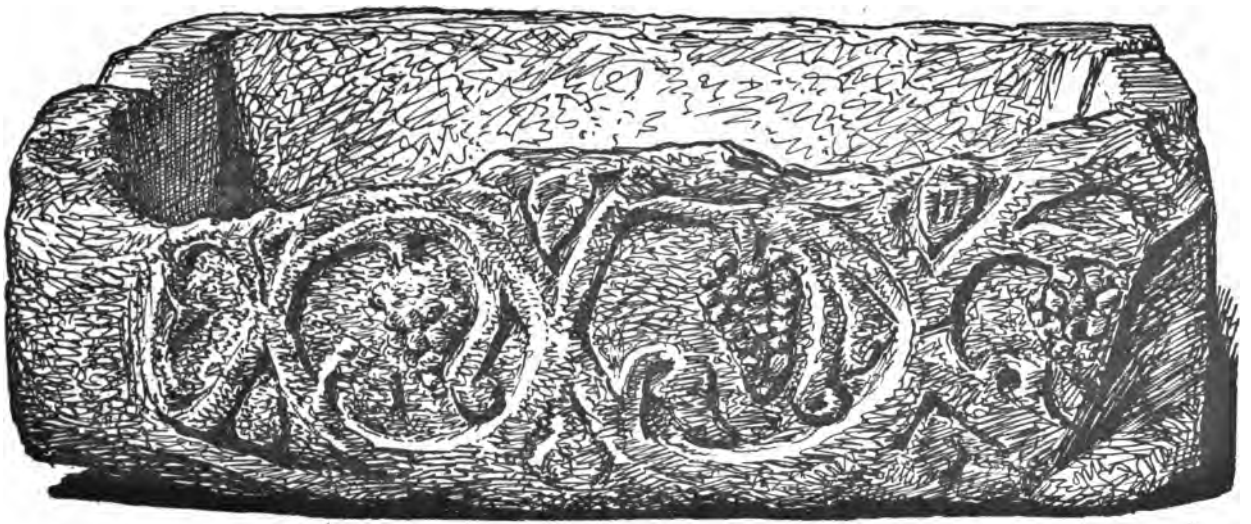
Read at Carlisle, April 19th, 1904.

MR. Linnæus E. Hope, the curator at Tullie House Museum, called my attention to the ancient stone carving which is figured herewith from my sketch. In the catalogue of articles brought from the old museum in Finkle Street to Tullie House, late in 1894, this is described in Chancellor Ferguson's handwriting as "391, Stone Coffin, Roman, from near Carlisle." But in his catalogue of Roman Stones at Tullie House (these *Transactions*, xv., page 461) it is omitted by Mr. Haverfield.

It is carved from a block of cream-coloured sandstone, not unlike that from the Shawk-beck quarries, and measures

Greatest length,	external	54	inches;	internal,	46	inches.
Greatest height,	"	18	"	"	15	"
Greatest breadth,	"	18	"	"	13	"

Inside there is a hole about an inch in diameter (at the spectator's left hand as the object is seen in the picture) passing horizontally from a groove in the bottom of the cavity, from which it seems that it was used, if not first intended, as a trough which could be drained quite dry. The back and ends have no ornament upon them, and the ornament upon the front has been cut away at one end (to the spectator's left) probably for the purpose of building the stone into a position for which it was not originally designed, as the pattern was evidently continued so as to complete four loops. The carving is rude, done with the chisel and, I think, with a drill; the design is of the Anglian type, representing the frequently seen vine with conventional leaves, somewhat like those of the Anglian



SCULPTURED COFFIN OR TROUGH AT TULLIE HOUSE.

THE BOW STONE

AS IT APPEARED WHEN IN USE AS A GATEPOST.

shaft at Kendal (these *Transactions*, N.S. iv., page 330) only the leaves are single, the bunches of grapes pointed, and the spaces of ground unusually large and blank. It might be a piece of poor Anglian work of the eighth century, or of the later period (eleventh and early twelfth centuries) when the Anglian style seems to have been revived, as we see in the Halton Standing Cross-shaft. As to its use, it is too short for a grown person's coffin, and too deep for a child's. At the Carthusian Monastery of Mount Grace in Yorkshire there can be seen *in situ* the monks' washing-trough, built into the cloister-wall; and this is very similar, except for the ornament.

There has been some confusion between this trough and a stone coffin mentioned in Jefferson's *History of Carlisle* (1838; p. 148) as discovered at the site of the Leper Hospital of Old St. Nicholas, and near the Roman Cemetery, some time before 1770. Dr. Barnes, who has given much kind help in clearing up the difficulty, showed the sketch to Mrs. Cartmell of St. Nicholas View, and ascertained that the stone coffin was another and quite different object, still in existence; about which, and the chalice found in it, I hope he will have something to tell us on a future occasion.

* * * *

After reading the above at our April meeting, many enquiries were made for information about the Trough; the local newspapers lent publicity to the question, and Mr. L. E. Hope was at last able to make an exhaustive search of the minutes of the old Museum; but all to no purpose. It was not until after our September meeting that the Rev. W. F. Gilbanks told me that the "Sarcophagus" had been sent to Carlisle Museum about 1883 or 1884 by J. B. Watson, Esq., and that it had been used previously as a trough for mixing mortar or feeding-stuff at the farmstead of Mr. William Little, on land which had formerly belonged to the Robinsons, of Green Lane, Dalston.

In the meantime we had been trying to locate it by casting about for any sculpture in the neighbourhood of Carlisle which might afford a parallel. The gatepost at Bow (pronounced to rhyme with "cow," and four miles west of Carlisle) was brought to mind. I had visited it in 1899, and it was known to several, though not figured or described in print. Mr. Hope went to see it with Mr. Baxter, whose drawing is here engraved, showing it as it appeared before removal. On August 16th, 1904, it was taken to Tullie House Museum. In moving and cleaning it, Mr. Hope noticed the sword incised on one edge; this is given in the photograph by Mr. Tassell of the Bow Stone as it lay in the garden of Tullie House.

The Bow Stone is about six feet long, and was originally longer. It is of similar material to that of the Trough, and the vine-pattern is obviously the same, though the bunches are turned in the opposite direction. The carving is about threequarters of an inch deep at the deepest, and has been done with chisel and drill, like that of the Trough. From the fact that the bunches hang in such a direction that the stone must have been meant to be seen horizontally, it could not have been a cross-shaft or door jamb, but must have been a lintel. Possibly there was a tympanum above it, as suggested by the fact that the moulding is wider at bottom than at top. In any case it was part of a building of some architectural pretensions, of the late 11th or early 12th century, like that from which the dragon-lintel at St. Bees was brought.

The sword measures 38 inches in total length, and the hilt 6½ inches inclusive; the guard is 8½ inches across. This represents a mediæval weapon, later than Saxon or Danish times. Its rude cutting (for it is incised, while the vine is carved in relief) shows that it was not part of the original design. No doubt when disused as a lintel the stone was turned on its side to make a tomb—neither a grave-slab nor a hogback, but the transitional form such as is seen at Bridekirk and Plumbland (*Early Sculptured Crosses*, pp. 60 and 225).

BOW STONE IN TULLIE HOUSE MUSEUM.

Photo. by Mr. Tassell.

TO FACE P. 208.

UNIV.

It is not too much to infer that there was a building which contained this Bow Stone and the Trough, probably an ecclesiastical building, which was destroyed early in the middle ages; after which the site was still used as a grave-yard. This continuance of burials in the churchyard of a vanished church is common, and an example is now seen close at hand in Kirkandrews. Where could this building have been?

Whellan (p. 171) says that Kirksteads, on the south side of Cobble Hall (and about half-a-mile E.N.E. of the position of the Bow Stone when used as a gatepost) is said by tradition to have been the site of a church. Many Roman remains have been found there, "and some beautiful specimens of Roman decorations of the vine tracery cut in relief in stone, now (i.e. before 1860) in the possession of Mr. Norman of Bow, and Mr. Stordy of Thurstonfield. Remains of human bones have also been exposed here, but still no traces of mediæval architecture." Whellan's author thought that the fact of Beaumont, Orton and old Kirkandrews churches being 13th and 14th century made it unlikely that there was a church at Kirksteads. The late Rev. J. Maughan (these *Transactions* i., p. 148) discussed the supposed Roman station at Kirksteads, without further reference to post-Roman remains, except—"The word Kirksteads implies that a church had been built at the steads, or station,"—and he mentioned the great collection of sculptured stones in the walls of a house at Kirkandrews and in the garden there,—both apparently Mr. Norman's. Some digging, under Chancellor Ferguson, proved that the site was a burial-ground. He thought it was Roman.

Following Maughan's hint, Mr. Hope and I went to Kirkandrews to see the stones from Kirksteads, and by the kindness of Mrs. Blaylock, tenant of the house belonging to Mrs. Borthwick of Burgh, formerly Miss Norman of Kirkandrews, we were able to sketch them, or most of them. A Roman altar and fragments of Roman inscrip-

tions described in the *Lapidarium* we did not copy; nor a coiled serpent, like one in the Roman room at Tullie House, though much better carved; it is too battered for sketching; but the rest are given here in two plates:—

1. Part of a figure in relief; fragment measuring 5¼ inches high. The hand is disproportionately large, but the drawing is classically anatomical. The curve of what may be a wing suggests the figure of a Genius.

2. Helmeted head; 10½ inches tall; the crest has been broken off.

3. Head, of which the face is much worn, but female in character, though it has a beard. In place of ears it seems to have little curled horns; probably satyric in character.

4. Apparently part of a cippus or other high relief.

5. Fragment of a spirally-fluted column, which would have been about 15 inches in diameter.

So far the pieces are obviously Roman.

6. Ornament of the "chip-carving" type, so common in Norway and in post-Renaissance Cumberland work; but there are discs not entirely dissimilar on Roman altars. The inner circle here is 3 inches in diameter. Another disc of the same ornament is built into the house over the back door. Perhaps Norman.

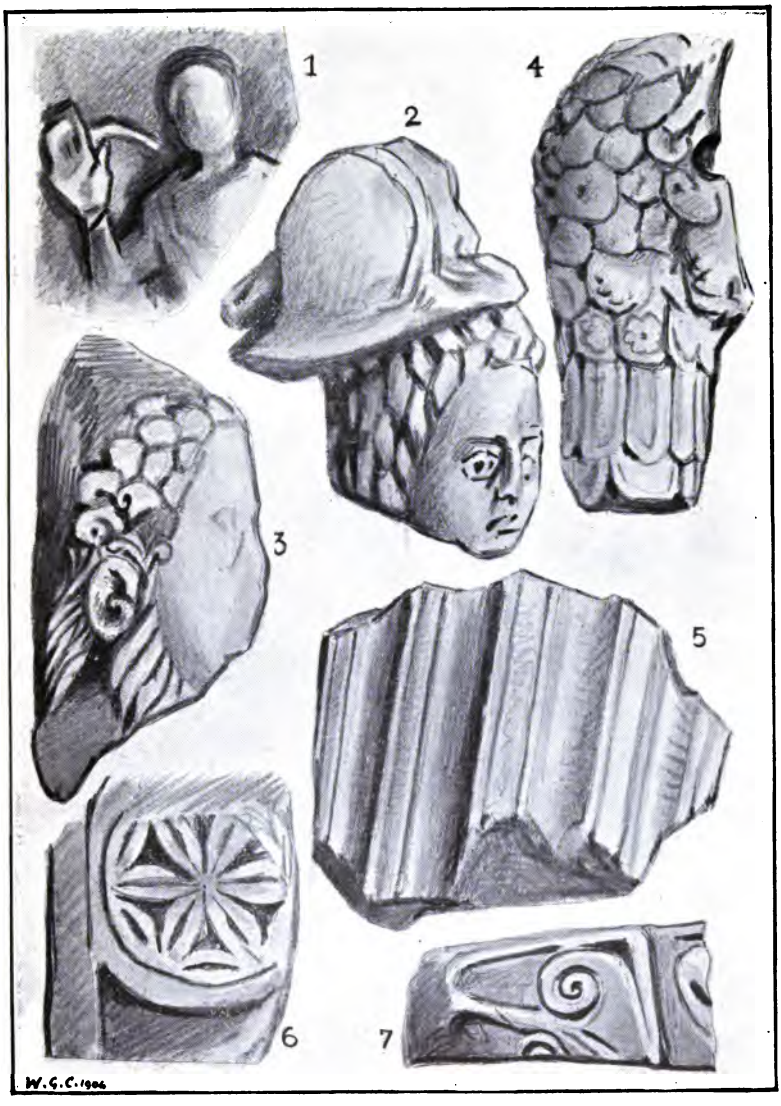
7. Also over the back door: a piece of rather whiter and finer sandstone than the rest, clean cut with the chisel, and looking like a morsel of an early mediæval sculpture.

Beside these there are four pieces of a vine in very high relief, drawn by Mr. Hope:—

8. A bunch of grapes, seen in front; 6 inches high by 4½ broad.

9. Another bunch, seen sidewise, to show the solidity of the relief; 7 inches high.

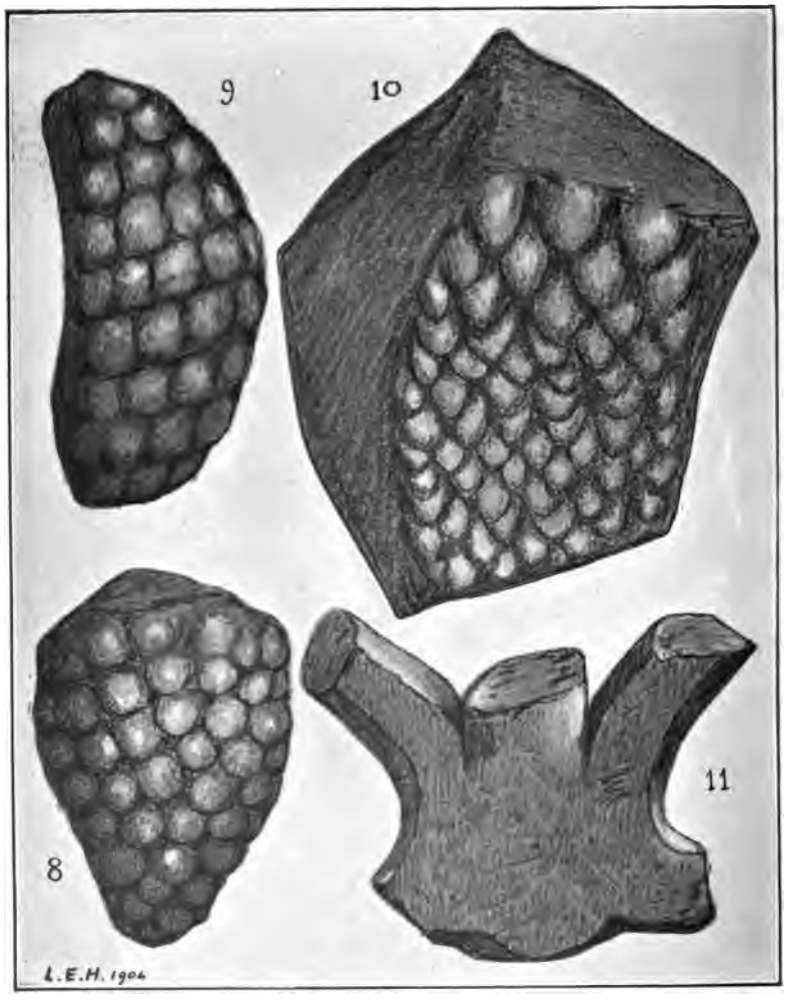
10. Apparently meant for grapes; but the surface as a whole is concave, not convex; and the scales are flattish. The irregular spaces above and on one side are merely



SCULPTURED STONES FROM KIRKSTEADS.

TO FACE P. 210.

UNIV



SCULPTURED STONES FROM KIRKSTEADS.

TO FACE P. 211.

broken edges of the stone. The fragment is about 12 inches high.

11. A bit of the vine stem, cut *à jour*, and 2½ inches thick. It seems to have been meant to be seen on either side and to have formed part of a free-standing vine, as if an accessory to a large figure, or a pierced screen.

Now these are quite different from the flat and rude vines of the Trough and the Bow Stone; they seem to be part of some fine and artistic Roman work which, a thousand years ago or less, might have been visible at Kirksteads. It is no new thing to find that earlier art gave the hint to later artists. I suppose much Celtic and Anglo-Saxon ornament was suggested by Roman interlaced pavements and dragon or serpent altars, which the "barbarians" admired and tried to copy. Here, perhaps, we have the original which prompted the 11th or 12th century carver to throw vines over the Trough and Lintel —and other parts—of the church or monastic building which we infer stood on the Roman site at Kirksteads; for the Trough and the Bow Stone seem to be part of the sculptures which Whellan records as coming thence. His doubt as to the existence of a church there is not conclusive; when population, in the 13th century, required churches at Orton, Beaumont and Kirkandrews, they would be built to supersede this at Kirksteads, which may have been ruined in war. The site was still sacred ground, and used for burial, as we know by digging and by the use of the lintel as a tombstone.

There is indeed good evidence of such an early structure. In the shed which now stands on the spot (the S.W. corner of the field S.W. of Cobble Hall) are several cut blocks of red sandstone. Four of these are slightly moulded; I cannot give a date: but three (at the back of the shed) are incised with a line along the edge, like the earliest architectural work of the post-Conquest period. One can trace a possible foundation of a building just north of the shed and in the wall which passes over the

foundation; and in neighbouring fences the Rev. W. F. Gilbanks pointed out to us many more bits of building-stone, and remarked on the name "Prior Rigg" just to south of the place, as possibly connecting with some early and now forgotten foundation here. In any case, Kirksteads appears to be worth further examination; and these carvings—with other relics, if any exist, which may have come thence—would form a very interesting series if they were collected and placed in the Museum.

ART. XVIII.—*The Kirkby Lonsdale Parish Registers, 1538-1812.* By EDWARD CONDER, JUN., F.S.A.

PARISH registers in England, as we know, were introduced by Thomas Cromwell, the vicar-general, in 1538. In his early life Cromwell spent some years in the low countries, where the Spanish clergy had brought in the custom of baptismal registers, which had been commenced in 1497 by order of Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo. This reformer, finding at that period divorce scandalously frequent on the score of some pretended spiritual relationship arising out of the act of sponsorship, directed that a register of baptisms, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers, be kept in each parish, in order to correct a great laxity of morals.*

Realising the importance of this custom, Cromwell was not slow to adopt it for England, and to add the registration of marriage and burials to those of baptism. In 1536 his views had evidently been ventilated at Lambeth, as several London parish registers begin in that or the following year.† It was not, however, until 1538 that a general order was issued to the Church respecting such registration.

By an injunction dated 29th September, 1538, Cromwell ordered that

> The curate of every parish church shall keep one book or register, which book he shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the churchwardens, or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings, christ'nings, and burials made the whole week before; and for every time that the same shall be omitted shall forfeit to the said church iij^{s} iiij^{d}. ‡

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* *Parish Registers in England*, by R. E. Chester Waters, 1883.

† *London and Middlesex Archæologia*, vol. iii., part x.

‡ Twelfth article of the injunctions.

This order was generally complied with by the clergy; and, notwithstanding loss and careless guardianship, no less than 812 parish registers are extant beginning in 1538, including Kirkby Lonsdale.

The extensive parish of Kirkby Lonsdale embraced an area of over 35,000 acres. It was more than ten miles in length north and south; it had a width of three to six miles east and west, and it contained four-fifths of the Lonsdale ward. Within the parochial limits were the townships of Kirkby Lonsdale, Hutton Roof, Lupton, Mansergh, Casterton, Barbon, Middleton, Killington, and Firbank. At the Reformation, besides the parish church at Kirkby Lonsdale, there were small chapels at Barbon and Hutton Roof, and a private chapel attached to Killington Hall, used by the inhabitants of Firbank and Killington. At the present day, the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale includes the chapelries of Firbank with a small church rebuilt in 1842 on a new site. The former chapel, which stood on "the Fell," is mentioned in the life of George Fox, the Quaker, as existing before 1652. The early registers are at Kirkby Lonsdale and later transcripts to 1812.

Killington has the old private chapel of Killington Hall still in use. It contains a stoup for holy water, and the arms of the founder, Pickering of Killington—ermine, a lion rampant, crowned—in a window.

Priestfield is at the end of Killington adjoining Firbank, and is not the site of the present chapel. I am informed that there is still a tradition that a chapel once stood in or near it. About forty years ago, when the plough went over the burial ground, several tombstones were taken up and removed.*

In 1585 Bishop Chadderton granted a licence and faculty for celebrating the sacraments, marrying, and burying at Killington Chapel, on a petition from the inhabitants of

* I am indebted to the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness for this and other information respecting the chapelries, taken from his pamphlet on the *Parish of Kirkby Lonsdale: its Churches and Endowments*, 1890.

Killington and Firbank, it being provided that the curate should be paid at their expense. The register and transcripts are at Kirkby Lonsdale.

Middleton township was without a chapel of ease until 1634, when the inhabitants erected a small building upon ground given by the Rev. Dr. Bainbrigg of Hawkin Hall. This chapel was rebuilt in 1812-15, and again rebuilt in a more substantial manner in 1878-9. The registers are at Kirkby Lonsdale and transcripts up to 1812.

Barbon doubtless had its chapel at an early date. Speed marks one on his map of the county A.D. 1610. A faculty was obtained in 1813 for pulling down the old chapel, and a new one was built with a rising floor, underneath which was the village school. A new church, on a site given by the Misses Gibson of Whelprigg and their married sisters, was erected in 1893. During the alterations on the old site a twelfth century cap of a pillar came to light, showing a pre-Reformation building at one time had been demolished.

At Hutton Roof, the old pre-Reformation building was pulled down in 1757 to make way for a new chapel. This was replaced in 1882 by a handsome church built on the same site. In the churchyard are fragments of old fourteenth century window tracery from the first chapel. The early registers are at Kirkby Lonsdale and transcripts of later ones down to 1812.

Lupton Chapel of ease dates from 1866. The registers are included in those of Kirkby Lonsdale.

Casterton Church was founded under the Church Building Act of 1831, and is vested in trustees. The building was consecrated in 1833. All the registers are included up to 1812 in those of Kirkby Lonsdale. Casterton became a separate parish for ecclesiastical purposes in 1888.

Mansergh, also formed into a separate ecclesiastical parish in 1888, has a new church built in 1880 on the site of a former chapel erected in 1726 on land given by Mr.

Jacob Dawson of Nether Hall. The old register and later transcripts are at Kirkby Lonsdale. We find, therefore, at Kirkby Lonsdale a complete register of all baptisms, marriages, and burials for the whole parish down to 1812, containing over 30,000 entries.

These registers are contained in three books, known to the clerk as,—the old book, volume ii., and volume iii. At first entries were made in paper books of various sizes and degrees of security. In 1597 new ordinances respecting registers were made, and minute regulations for their preservation laid down. These were afterwards embodied in the 70th Canon of 1603. Every minister at his institution was to subscribe to this protestation:—

I shall keep the register book according to the Queen's Majesty's instructions.*

Every parish was to provide itself with a parchment book, in which the entries from the old paper books were to be fairly and legibly transcribed, each page being authenticated by the signature of the minister and churchwardens†—

So far as the ancient books thereof can be procured, but especially since the beginning of the reign of the late Queen.

The oldest register books now extant are usually transcripts made in pursuance of the injunction of 1597 or 1603. Such is that of Kirkby Lonsdale; it is dated 1601. This old book of registers is a small folio containing 200 parchment leaves, measuring 12 inches by 7½, bound in parchment. It includes all baptisms, marriages, and burials from November, 1538, to February, 16$\frac{48}{50}$. The following is the title:—

* "And for further security," a true copy of the names of all persons christened, married, or buried in the year before was to be transmitted every year to the bishop of the diocese within a month after Easter, to be preserved in the episcopal archives.—70th Canon.

† This was not followed at Kirkby Lonsdale.

KIRKBY LONSDALL.

A register booke of all the weddinges Chrysteninge and burryinge wthin the psh of Kirkby lonsdall maide the ffirst day of December in the xlii year of rayne of our Souereigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England ffrance and Ierland Defender of the ffaith Anno Dni 1601 by me John Willinson Clark . . . . Kirkby lonsdall and nicholas Layfeld Xpofer geslinge . . . . gibson Willim Jacson Rowland Lucas Xpofer Conder . . . . Harling Richard holme Willim Dixson John Applegarth . . . . garnet Edward Addeson Joseph Burrow Samuel . . . . Jefferey Borret and Thomas ffawcet Church wardens of the said p'she accordinge to the Queenes Matie gvn at the comandement of the Right Reuerend ffather in God (Richd ?) by godes Deuyne p'uidence Bushopp of Chester.*

(1601)

The transcript begins with a register of the marriages from 1538 to 1555-6. On the first page is the following:—

Weddings Anno Dni 1538
In Tempore Rob'ti Applegarth Cler' Vicarij
. . . . xxiiijo Die Nouembris . . . seq

John Dickson of tonstall Jenet Atkinson	xxvi Die Nouembr
Homfra Atkinson Jenet Dawson	xxxo Die Noumbr
Edward Dunwede Julyan Sewart	xxxixo Die Nouembr
Thomas Smith Agnes Applegarth John Woodhouse Mabell Mansergh	Primo Die Januarye

Anno Dni 1539.

Richard Sander of Warton Agnes Whitell Willm Rigg, Sebill Dickson	vio Die july

In all, over 180 entries to February, 1555-6.

Baptisms begin in December, 1538, thus:—

* Kirkby Lonsdale was in the diocese of Chester until it was transferred to the diocese of Carlisle in 1856. Richard Vaughan was Bishop of Chester from 1597 to 1604, when he was translated to London.

Christynnges Anno Dni 1538

John Ward son of Willm	primo Die mens December
Robert garnet son of Willm	xi° Die mens Decemb^r
Wilm hardye son of lenard	xiij Die mens December

followed by over 1,000 entries down to January, 1556-7.

Then follows the register of burials from November, 1538, to February, 1556-7, containing about 750 entries. It begins :—

Burials Anno Dni 1538.

Willm Manser son of Roger	xviij Die Nouember

One of the Mansergh family of Mansergh Hall, lords of the manor.*

Among early surnames in the district recorded from 1538 to 1556 may be found the following place-names :— Hutton, Holme, Lupton, Bethom, Mansergh, Lonsdall, Middleton, Thornton, ffirbanck, Whittington, Farlton, Tebay, Burrow, Kendall, Aycrig, Garsdall, Cansfield, Staveley, &c. Other names, such as Applegarth, Achieson, Atkinson, Addison, Askwick, Anderson, Baynes, Bains, Backhouse, Browne, Bowness, Bouskell, Byndloss, Bayliffe, Bourdall, Bland, Baynbrigg, Beck, Barker, Bullock, Cleasby, Cort, Colling, Cowper, Cowert, Carr, Carter, Cooke, Caton, Conder, Dawson, Dickonson, Dixon, Dodgson, Denny, Dunwede, Ewen, Eskholm, Fawcet, Foxcroft, Fysher, Fishwick (Physic), Glover, Gybson, Gybonson, Grene, Gardner, Greenwood, Graveson, Greenbank, Gesling, Garnet, Gray, Harling, Hardye, Hucheson, Hayber, Huitson, Huddlestone, Hyne, Jenkinson, Jackson, Johnson, Kyching, Leyke, Lucas, Langrige, Layfield, Lynsay, Lyster, More, Moore, Nicholas, Nevell, Otway, Plumer, Prieston, Priestcousin,

* See "Some Account of the Manors of Mansergh and Rigmaden," by the writer, in these *Transactions*, vol. xiv., p. 450.

Partridge, Peyrson, Pearson, Pattenson (Patterson), Rigg, Robynson, Richardson, Redman, Rolynson, Readman, Symson, Smith, Sowermire, Sigeswick, Speight, Stockdall, Talboys, Toppin, Toluson, Tomson, Thomson, Thirnbeck, Taylor, Ustonson, Ullathorns, Venn, Ward, Warrener, Wadeson, Willan, Witton, Woodhouse, Whithead, Wedlake, Walker, Wilson, Whytwell, Whitell, Wright, &c.

Few entries call for special notice before 1556. It was sufficient at baptism to enter the father's name only. Very frequently, however, this was omitted.

1538—Ellen Jackson	... ... xiiij die Martij
1539—John Ewen	... ... vij die Aprilis

Some few marriages have particulars of the contracting parties, as

1546—James Lynsay, Alice lat wiffe of Peter Middleton	xxvii Nov
1549—John Talboys of Tunstall Kateryn Otway	x die Oct

The burials vary considerably in the information given concerning the deceased.

1538—Katherne the wiffe of Roger Middleton	v° die Januarij
1538—Margaret late wiffe of John Gibonson	xvii die ffeb.

A young person has usually the father's name given for identification.

1540—Alice Glover doughter of John	xv° die Junij
1543—Edward Mansergh, son of Xpofer	xvii die Junij

If an elderly person, the name only occurs as

1542—Edward Conder	viii die ffebruarij
1544—Anthony Hardye	vltimo die Dec
1545—Elizabeth Moore	vlt° die Dec

Among the burials, the following is of interest :—

1545—Sr Jefferay Middelton Knight ... ... xxixo die Augustij

This is the Sir Geoffrey Middleton of Middleton Hall who heads the pedigree entered in the visitation of 1664, stated there to have been "Major Generall to K. Henry viii. in his expedition to Bulloine." No date, of course, is given in the pedigree.

After the dissolution of the monasteries at the Reformation, a number of the older inhabitants were scattered all over the county living on small annuities. The following were doubtless of this class :—

BURIALS.

1539—Sr Richard Egylsfeld prest	...	xvi die Maii
1539—Sr Roger Ward prest	...	xxio die Octobris
1539—Sr Thomas Wright prest	...	xiij die ffebruarij
1543—Sr Richard Thomson	...	xxij die Maij
1549—Sr Nicholas Borheed Prest	...	xxvii die Maij
1550—Sr willm helme prest	...	xxvo die Augusti

The prefix "Sr" stands for "Dominus." No register was kept from March, 1556, to April, 1561. This may be explained by the unsettled state of the Church during the reign of Queen Mary.

In 1555 Cardinal Pole caused a synod of both the convocations to assemble before him as legate in the Chapel Royal at Westminster. Their deliberations were published February, 1556. Among other things, Pole required the names of the godfathers and godmothers to be added in the register of baptisms, according to the practice of Italy and Spain. This addition enjoined by the Council of Trent never became law in the Anglican church except during the reign of Queen Mary, and Cardinal Pole's injunction was then only partially obeyed.

At Kirkby Lonsdale they evidently decided to "wait events." Hence the break in the register. In 1560 John Williamson succeeded Robert Applegarth as vicar. The register is carefully kept from April, 1561, by the new vicar, but as much as possible in Latin. He begins :—

Incipit Tem^e Magistri Johis willmson vicarij ibidem Primo die Aprilis Regni dni Elizabeth Dei gra Angliæ ffrancæ et Hibnæ Regina ffiddei defensor . . . . secundo Anni Dni 1561.

Bap^t	Sibella Banes	xxix^o Aprilis
„	Xpofer stockdall fil leonardi ...	vii die Maij
„	Elizabeth Atkinson fil^a Edwardi	xix^o die Maii
Sepult.	Joh'is Mathew	
„	Joh'is holme fil Johis ...	xxi^o die „
Nupt.	Georgii Middelton	xvi^o die Junij

It would be interesting to know the name of the wife of this George Middleton for the purpose of completing the pedigree given in the visitation of 1615, supposing him to be of the Middleton Hall line. There were several branches of the Middleton family in the parish, and it is difficult to trace their connection with the chief.

As will be noticed above, baptisms, marriages, and burials follow one another. They were not kept separate as before.

1561
Sepult—M^rd Jacob Ward ... ... xxvij^o die Octobris

Of Rigmaden. The Ward family had been in possession of the manor of Rigmaden since the time of Edward III. By Inquisition post mortem for 18 Edward III. [1344], after the death of Thomas Ward, it appears he held the manor as of the lands of William de Coucy—the Richmond fee. The Wards remained at Rigmaden until 1661.

The following entry shews the difficulty of pedigree making from parish registers alone.

1561
Nupt—Georgij Middleton ... ... xxi° die Novembris

No name given of the wife. See above on June 16th.

1564
Bap.—fil Mri Ward ... ... xx° die Octobris

No name is given to this child of the Wards of Rigmaden in the register.

From April, 1565, to May, 1570, there are no entries. The following note explains the omission.

Heare wants May 66. May 67. May 68. May 69. and the rest of the months accordingley, this want and oversight came through the curate, the benefice then being in formynge.

The old style of Dominus for a cleric is still used.

1578
Sepult—Dni Xpofer Wilson vicarij de Mellinge... x.die.Sep
1580
Sepult—Mri Joh'is Middelton. Ar ... ... xv° die ffeb.

He was son of Sir Geoffrey Middleton of Middleton Hall, and succeeded his father in 1545.

1581
Nupt—Richard Otway ... ... ii die Novembris
Bap —Maria Middelton fillia Mri Edward ... ix° die „ .

Her father was of Middleton Hall, her grandfather having died the preceding year.

A change in the title of the clergy occurs here :—

1581
Nupt—Mr Thoma shott Clerici ... ... xiiij die ffeb

And again :—

1583
Bap.—Elizabethæ shott filia Mr shott Preacher xxiii die Junij

1584
Sepult—Dni Oliveri heiber [Hayber] ... iii die Junij

Doubtless a priest of an earlier day.

1586
Sepult—Mr Ellis ... ... xviii die Januarij

I am unable to trace any of this family until a much later date—1726.

1587
Sepult—Egedij Moore ... ... iii die Maij
Sepult—Uxis Mri Edward Middleton ... ... xii die augusti

According to the visitation of 1664, Edward Middleton married Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Carus, Kt., widow of Sir —— Kighley of Kighley, Co. York, Kt., by whom he had eight children.

1590
Sepult—Uxis Georgij Rigmayden ... ... xv. Maij

Possibly a descendant of the Rigmaden family who alienated their estated to the Wards in the fourteenth century.

1594
Sepult—Hamlati fil Mri Ricardi Maffey ... vii die Julij

The play was not published until 1603.* I am unable to find any other particulars of the Massey family in the register. Richard Massey must have been a man of some position in order to have the prefix "Mri."

Vagrants are noticed thus:—

1596
Sepult—fili paupris advenæ ... ... xviii die Januarij
1599
Bap. —Thomæ Middelton fil Joh'is Ar ... iii Feb
Bap. —Xpoferi Stockdall fil Georgii ... xv die Junii

* The story of Hamlet was, however, translated from Belleforest's novels about 1570.—Ed.

The Stockdales of Casterton entered their pedigree at the visitation of 1615, but without arms. In 1664 they were, however, "disclaymed."

Before quitting the sixteenth century, it is well to notice the principal families then in the parish.* According to the register, the Middletons of Middleton Hall ranked first, followed by the Wards of Rigmaden, the Stockdales of Casterton, the Otways of Beckside Hall in Middleton, and the Manserghs of Mansergh Hall. Other families long seated on their estates were the Wadesons of Killington; Hardyes of Beckfoot; Bainbriggs, Bouskells, Moores, and Riggs of Middleton; Foxcrofts and Burrows of Lupton; Garnetts, Glovers, Whiteheads, and Gibsons of Barbon; Gesslings, Redmans, Ustonsons, Applegarths, and Wilsons of Kirkby Lonsdale; and Conders of Old Town and Mansergh. From the numerous branches of these families in the early part of the register, it is clear they had been settled in the district long before the year 1538.

The transcript ends in 1601.

1603
Sepult—Xpofer Middleton de Deansbiggin ... viii die Mar'ii
Nupt —Magister ja Readman et Agneta Otwaye xvii° Novem
Nupt —Brian Warde et Alice Eskrigg ... xx die Novembris
1604
Sepult—Ux Jo Middleton apud Sedberg ... secundo die Martii
1607
Sepult—Henricus Wilson [probably of Underley] xiiij die Dec
1616
Bap —Samuelis Readmayne fil Jacobi ... xxi° Nov
[In a later hand] Who gave 10^{lib} p. ann to the church for ever
1618 January
Bap. —Hamo benson fil M^{r} benson Cler. tertio die apud Killington
1619 February
Nupt. —Dict. Hen. Park Cler. et Vicarii et Alice Segswick ... ... vii die

* At the visitation of 1615 these families only are entered —— Middleton of Middleton Hall, Middleton of Kirkby Lonsdale [Deansbiggin], and Stockdale of Casterton. It is remarkable that the Wards of Rigmaden and Manserghs of Mansergh Hall were not included.

1620 July.
Sepult—Edward Moore of Bensbank ... ... vii die
1621 April
Sepult—Brian Mansergh gen. ... ... xii die

The last to reside at Mansergh Hall.

1622 Octobris
Sepult—Ux Mr Edwardi Middleton ... ... xiii die

Probably Bridget, the wife of Edward Middleton of Middleton Hall. According to the pedigree entered in the visitation of 1664 she was the daughter and heiress of Robert Bindloss of co. York.

1623 Augusti
Sepult—Mr bainbrigge vidu de Gilfoot ... ix die
1623 September
Sepult—Edw. Otwaye fil Mr Roger ... ... xxvi die

On the edge of this page in the register is the following:—

James ffowler wrote this Ano Dni 1628 Aprilis xxviii.
1633 July
Sepult—Mri Joh'is Williamson Vic de Tunstall ... ... xxvio

The township in which the deceased lived is now frequently entered in the register, and occasionally the name of the residence.

1640 October
Incipit—Mri Buchanann Vicar de Kirkby Lonsdale ... iio

George Buchanan, a Scotch divine who had been driven out for refusing the covenants, was befriended by Archbishop Laud, who gave him a living in Essex. This he exchanged for that of Kirkby Lonsdale in 1640. He was most unjustly persecuted during the Civil War by two of his parishioners, captains in the Parliamentary army. It

is said * they managed to get the living sequestrated and Buchanan placed in gaol more than once. On one occasion he was hurried out of bed, on another out of church during divine service. At the restoration of Charles II. he returned to Kirkby Lonsdale. He soon afterwards obtained preferment.† The first period of the vicar's imprisonment was evidently in 1642, as there is a break in the register from March, 1642, to April, 1643.

1643 August
Bap—Cavendish Middleton fil Mr William ... ... viiio

A son of William Middleton, fourth son of John Middleton of Middleton Hall, colonel of horse in the service of King Charles. Cavendish Middleton became a student of law at Grays Inn, London. He was aged twenty-two at the visitation of 1664-5.

The next period of incarceration of the vicar is marked by a break in the register from November, 1644, to April, 1645.

1647 October
Sepult—Mr Edwardi Bainbrigge de Middleton ... ... ixo
1648 November
Bapt—Deborah Wilson filii John Wilson Mansergh Fish monger of London.
1649
Edward Mansergh entered to be Clerke in ye Pishe Church April 23 1649

About the commencement of the Civil War the Manserghs of Mansergh Hall appear to have alienated their estates, and the old hall, where they had been seated for centuries, became tenements for labouring families. It was ultimately demolished, and a modern farmhouse now occupies the site. The Manserghs migrated to Ireland, where their descendants are still to be found. Like the Manserghs, the Otways of Middleton about the same

* Nicolson and Burn's *History*.
† Nicolson and Burn's *History*.

time, or perhaps later, leave the old home in Middleton and follow their neighbours to Ireland, where their descendants are also still flourishing.*

About this period one Cole occupied the living. He was doubtless one of Cromwell's "godly men;" the vicar being still in gaol. The register is very carelessly kept during the interregnum.

1650—September came in on Sunday
Prissylla Boothe fillie Mr Thos Boothe de Deansbiggin... 70

The Middletons of Kirkby Lonsdale were seated at Deansbiggins at the visitation of 1615. They had left ere this.

—— July
Sepult—A boye and a Girle drowned at ye scar brow
—— Dec
Bap.—Maria Cole filii Mr Wlm Cole Cleri
February came in Satterday

[Last line in the "old book."] †

Towards the middle of the century the following families appear in the register in addition to most of those already mentioned in 1538-40:—Batty, Boothe, Bower, Bell, Briggs, Broadgate, Banks, Birkbeck, Beethom, Charlton, Cummins, Crakell, Cowperthwait, Dawson, Docker, Farthwait, ffoster, Greenwood, Grainger, Godderhead, Godsalve, Guy, Hebblethwait, Harrison, Jagger, Lightborne, Mann, Nelson (Nealson), Overend, Noddle, Nicholson, Newton, Procter, Preston, Parker, Percival,

* Mansergh's of co. Tipperary. Bryan Mansergh obtained a grant of lands under the Act of Settlement in cos. Meath and Kilkenny. Two of his brothers, Robert and James, also obtained grants of land. Otway of Castle Otway, co. Tipperary; John Otway obtained this estate by a patent dated October 10th, 1665.

† It is to be regretted that this "old book" of registers has at some former time been allowed to remain unguarded, and has fallen into the hands of unscrupulous persons, who have added names and inserted particulars of residences. Fortunately the marked difference in the colour of the ink used is sufficient to enable the reader to detect such additions.

Pricket, Ridley, Read, Russell, Saull, Smorthwait, Skyringe, Sutton, Spencer, Tatham, Troughton, Towers, Townson, Wearing, Wetherhead, Wildman, Washington, Waitman, Walker, Yeats, &c.

The second book of the register is a tall folio containing 92 parchment leaves, 1 fly leaf blank, all the others closely written, measuring 24 inches by 10½ inches, bound in calf. It begins March, 1650-1, and ends March, 1750-1. It is kept with care, and in most instances the township and sometimes the residence and occupation follow the family name.

1650. Feb 12
Nupt—Captain Willm Garnet et Mrs Carr de Casterton.
1651. July 11
Sepult—Thomas Barden de Essex a stranger.

It is possible that this "stranger" was hoping to meet with Mr. Buchanan, who had left his Essex living for Kirkby Lonsdale in 1640.

1651 December
Bap. John Aplegarth fil Captain Aplegarth de vnderlay
1652 July 26
Sepult. Mr John Ward fil Henery de Rigmaden.
1652 Augst 22
Bap—a poore child from ye Biggins
1653 Ffebruary
Sepult—Elizabeth Middleton fil John Middleton Esqre, Middleton.

["Esquire" here takes the place of "armiger."]

1652 Ffeb. 13
Bap—Willm Smith fil John Smith Clerck Kerby.

[Smith replaced Cole as "minister."]

1653. July 18
Sepult—Uxor James Moore de Middleton Carpenter

[This is the first notice of a trade.]

1653 December 12
Sepult—Mary Middleton uxor John Middleton Esqre of Middleton.

A careless register of Killington for the year 1653 is here transcribed. No dates are given :—

Sepult—Ye Mother in Law of John Broadley
Bap —Ye son of Oswald Ayrey
„ —Ye daughter of Brian Walker
„ —Ye son of Humphray Drew
„ —Ye son of John Pearson
Sepult—Ye wife of Wlm Nealson
„ —Ye widow Otway
„ —Mrs Knipe

The first private baptism of infants is here recorded :—

1658/7 February 12
Bap—Robert Conder son of Christopher de Mansergh at house.
1657 August
Sepult Margaret Wilson daughter of Henry Wilson of vnderlay Gener.
1659 May 28
Sepult—Miles Mann gent de Hutton Roof

1660.—Mr. Buchanan is said to have returned to his vicarage.

ffor christinings fines Tho Bainbrigg became Clerk for the Pishe of Kirkby Lonsdale
August the 19o 1660 . . . . Registerer 15 leaves forward.

1663.—Henry Hoyle, vicar.

1663/4 Ffebruary
Bap. Margareta Godsalfe fil Johannies de Rigmaden

Henry Ward sold Rigmaden Manor to Thomas Godsalve in 1661.

1669 January vi
Bap.—Edward Hoyle fil Hen. Vic Eccles
1671 Augst xxvii
Bap—Willm Godsalve fil Thoma de Rigmaden.

The youngest son ; afterwards of Kirfit Hall, Casterton.

1672 March xxv°
Sepult—Jennet Washington ux. Lawrence et Infante
1673 June xxii°
Sepult—James Ackeroid fil Johannis Clerc de Mansergh

It would appear that a curate was living in this township, although the chapel was not built until 1726.

1673 september xx°
Nupt—William Gibson de Killington et Margarett Bainbrigg
1674. October iii
Sepult—Edward Middleton of Middleton Hall Armiger

He was the last of the Middletons of Middleton Hall, where they had been seated since the reign of Edward III. His three sons died without issue, and the male line ended. He left two daughters co-heiresses—Bridget, who married Joshua Heblethwait of Dent, and Mary, who married James Cragg, also of Dent.

1675 May xvi
Sepult—Isabell Hardkurr.

[Possibly Hardacre.]

A short terrier follows :—

Kirkby Lonsdale Anno Dni 1676

Johannes Briggs Clericus Inductus fuit in Possessona Ecclesiæ de Kirkby Lonsdale vigesimo die mensis Decembris Anno Regni Caroli Secundi dei gratia, Anglia Scotia, ffrancia et Hiberna, Regis vigefimo octavo.

A Terrier of the Gleb land houses orchards-garden belonging to the vicaridge of Kirkby Lonsdall

Imp. The Church yard
„ One Close on the back of the Vicaridge house containing one Acre
„ One Close beyond Vnderley two Acres
„ One Close called Cross fflatt two acres
„ One Close called Kew Close four Acres
„ One Close called Dalliker four Acres and a half
„ One Close called by the name of Seven Acres
„ One rood of Land in Edward Leightbound Land near Dallikar

Imp. Three rood in a Close opposite to the tythe Barn in Mr Wilson ground

„ A rent to bee paid .... by Mr. Booth of London for Dodshon close due at Michaelmas } 00 09 04

„ „ given to Kerby Church by the Will & Teftament of Colonell Redman late deceafed of Ireland. In Land of the value of ten Pounds P. annum which Lyes in Borienbouly in the County of Keelkenny Ireland the days of paiment are May day and Michaelmas.

„ The Vicaridge House wth low doble Cowbarn adjacent to church yard & the brow at ye end of ye Orchard.

„ One Orcharde & two Gardens.

1680 March xxii
Sepult—Richard Hutton de Lupton Generosus armiger de Grays Inn in London.

There were no Huttons in the parish. He was perhaps a visitor.

The Act for burying in woollen, passed in 1667 for the purpose of encouraging the woollen manufactures, was not noticed at Kirkby Lonsdale. No entries of such a custom are found in the register.

1682 april xxv^o
Sepult—Leonard Stockdale de Casterton, a poor man.

The Stockdales, like the Manserghs, Otways, and Middletons, had now parted with their estates.

1683 Dec xii
Bap. Brian Mansergh fil Gulielmi Mansergh de Casterton
168⅔ January xi
Sepult—Robert Whitehead de Whelprigg in Casterton.

This estate was soon afterwards purchased by Joseph Gibson.

1686. December 25.
Nupt—Mr Edward Tong & Mrs Susannah Godsalve de Riggmaiden.
1685 November 6
Bap. Jacobus fil Jacobi Harrison J^unr de ffell House in Barbon.

1689 april 30
Sepult.—John Lawson fil Johis alias Lickbarrow

1690 May 25
Sepult—John Jackson fil Mrs Susanna Jackson de Ireland

1690 July 2
Bap—Rogerus Wilson fil Rogerii de Casterton Hall Gent

1693 Dec 30
Bap—Thomae Bayliffe
— Sarah do
— Agnes do
} fil Joh'is Bayliffe de Barbon

169$\frac{3}{4}$ January 11
Sepult—Mr Thomas Godsalve de Rigg-Maiden Hall

1695. april xvi
Sepult Roger Moore de Holme House Sergeant at Law

1703 november 25
nupt—Robert Panther Curate of Keyton and Sarah Gibson of Barbon

170$\frac{8}{9}$ ffeb 10
Nupt—Giles Moore of Middeton and Mary Cragg of Sedbergh.

1707—Nov. 10
Sepult—Mr Philip ffoster Senr of Kirkby Lonsdale.

170$\frac{8}{9}$ ffeb 27
Bap—Margaret dau of Thomas Godsalve of Rigg-Maiden Hall Gent

17$\frac{10}{11}$ Jan. 13
nupt—Edmund Garnett and Margaret Gibson of Casterton behind ffell.

17$\frac{11}{12}$ March 4
Sep^t. Mr Henry Wilson who died at Sellett Hall in Lancashire

17$\frac{11}{12}$ March 20
Sep^t. Mr William Godsalve of Kirfitt Hall in Casterton

He was second son of Thomas Godsalve, who purchased the Rigmaden Hall estate.

1711. november
Sep^t—Ann wife of Mr Rowland Godsalve of Kirkby Lonsdale

A distant relative of the above. His name does not appear in the pedigree at the visitation of 1666.

1711 Dec
Bap—Rebecca dau of Mr Park Reader of Hutton Roof Chapel

1718 august 16
Bap. Joseph son of Joseph Gibson Junr of Whelprigg yeom' baptized aug 16. 1718.
1718
D . . . .

At the foot of this page a strip has been cut away from the parchment, so that a line or two of inscription is thereby lost excepting the letter "D."

1719 June 24
Bur. John Wheatley of Kirfitt Hall in Casterton Formerly of Peckham near london. Gent.
1719 Sep 5
Bap—Margaret dau of George Hayward Serj^{t} in Major Gen^{r}all Evans Troop
1720 July 14
Bur—Mr Rowland Godsalve of Kirkby Lonsdale.
1720 Nov 2
Bap—Mary dau of Robert Burrow of Badger-Gate in Hutton Roof

The old family of Burrow disappears shortly after this death. They had held land in Lupton and Hutton Roof for generations.

1720 Ffebruary 4
Sep^{t}. Elizabeth Otway of Tearnside Pauper.

1721-4.—A regiment of cavalry was quartered in Kirkby Lonsdale about this time.

1721 Sep. 23
Bap—Ann dau of Samuel Foley Coll or Major in Ld Carpenters regiment of Dragoons
1721. Nov. 24
nupt—Edward Wilson of Casterton Esqr and Barbary Wilson of Underley Widow by Lycence from the Comisary the 24th day of November.
1722 April 19
Bap. George son of Ralph Sigswicke behind Casterton ffell.
1723 March 19.
nupt—William Gregg of Lupton Yeom' and Mary Hathornwait

1724 March 21
Sep^{t}—Edward Conder of the Old Town in Mansergh

1725—sep 4
Bap—Jonathan son of Joseph Gibson of Whelprigg

1725 Dec 17
Sep^{t}. Barbara. Wife of Edward Wilson Esqre of Casterton Hall

1726 April 11
Bap—William son of Mr Ellis Supervisor of Kirkby Lonsdale

[See before in 1586.]

1726 May 18
Sep^{t}—Mr Joseph Gladwell from Kirkfitt Hall in Casterton

1726 July 3
nupt—Mr Hugh Ashton of Bispham in Lancashire and Mrs Susannah Godsalve of Riggmaiden

1726 oct 6
sep^{t}—Edward Wilson Esqr of Casterton Hall.

1729 aug 31
Bap^{t}. Richard son of Mr Myles Gathorn Curat of Kirkby Lonsdale. Born the 22 day. Baptized the aug 31. 1729.

1730. July 11
Bap—John son of Edward Battersby of Upper Biggins.

1735—aug 3
Bap. Margarett dau of Mr Thomas Maudesley

1736 aug 23
Bap—Frances dau of Mr Hugh Ashton of Underley Hall.

1737 april 18
sep^{t}—Mr John Briggs Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale aged 91 in the 61 year of his residince at the Church.

1737 June 19
Bap—Martha dau
Leonard son of Miles Weatherhead of Kirkby Lonsdale

[In a note lower down.]

N.B. The name inserted three lines above is upon the evidence of one of the Godmothers confirmed to be a mistake of the Clerk by the assurance that the above named Miles Weatherhead had no son.

Test. T. Crôft Vicar

Transcripts of the registers of Firbank, Killington,

Middleton, and Mansergh now appear in the register. They were furnished once a year.

Killington 1737.
[No date of month, &c.]—Anne dau of Captain Morland

[He was of Capplethwait Hall.]

1740 July 18
Sep^{t}—Hannah Gibson of Whelprigg in Barbon Widow.
1742 May 15
Sep^{t}—Elizabeth Townson als Salisberry Ale-Pott, Poor House
1744—July 24
Sep^{t}—Agnes. Wife of Mr Greenwood of Hutton Roof aged 102

The rebellion of '45 is marked by the following notice:—

Firbank 1745.
No transcript was sent or could be gott from firbank

The inhabitants probably left their homes in fear on hearing of the approach of Prince Charlie and his wild Scotch followers. The following entries at Kirkby Lonsdale are sidelights on the "passing through" of his army:—

1748 Ffeb 6
Bur—Elizabeth dau of William Hopkins a soldier
1747
Bur. Thomas Martin a Scotch man and Traveller

Perhaps a straggler left behind after the retreat from Derby.

1747
Bur—Ann Wife of John Singleton a Soldier
1750 May 21
Bur—Thomas Godsalve of Riggmaiden Hall aged 82

This second volume of the register ends in 1750. The last few leaves were blank, but in 1798 they were filled in with a terrier of the living and some particulars of the tithe, &c. I extract the following as being of interest:—

Tythe and Oblations

4thly—There hath not (to our knowledge) been any Tythe paid in our parish for . . . . . on agistments, mortuarys are due to be paid equally to the Vicar and Improprietor the Custom for oblations is Three half-pence for every person above the age of sixteen years in the parish—for every Aicheld or new Calved Cow two pence for every Shyil milk Cow one penny & for a garden one penny, for a hen or hens one penny—for hemp one penny except in Middleton where Hemp and Hen is paid to the Impropriator and Hemp in Barbon—For every Swarm of Bees one penny—For every plow Two pence For every ffoal under five four pence, For the ordinary every person Sleeping house in the Parish one halfpenny which he pays to the Bishop for proclamations; and every Person sleeping house in the parish pays two pence to the Clerk which is called Smoak money; these to be paid to the Vicar and Clerk at this parish Church in Easter week yearly. There are no Beast pasture or Right of Common belonging to the Vicar that we know of, he hath all the fees for marriages, Burials & Churchings throughout the Chapelrys and the whole Parish.

Beside this the vicar had the tythe of pigs and geese, except in Middleton only; also a portion of the tythe of hay in the townships of Hutton Roof, Lupton, Mansergh, and Barbon, also all the hay tythe in Killington.

The third volume of the register begins March 31st, 1751. It is a tall folio bound in calf with brass clasps, containing 157 parchment leaves, measuring 22 inches by 12 inches—1 blank fly leaf, 134 closely written pages, and 22 blank.

1752 January 17
Burial—Giles Dodgson of Barbon Beckfoot. aged 104.

June 28
„ Alice Middleton of this town aged 101

1753 Nov. 28
Bap—Samuel son of Female negro Slave call'd Powers a native of Carolina in North America.

1754 July 13
Buried—Mary Crosfield widow of Mr Robt Crosfield Late Parish Clark

1755 Feb. 25
Buried—Elinor Thompson widow of Lupton aged 101
Buried Augst 7
„ Roger Wilson Esqre of Casterton Hall one of his majesties Justices of the Peace and Quorum for the County of Westmorland.

KILLINGTON TRANSCRIPT.

1755 sep. 14
Bur—Lancelot Hall. Chapel Clark at Mansergh

KIRKBY LONSDALE.

1756 april 12
Bap—Mary dau of Mr John and Ann Wilkinson of Rigmaiden.
1757. July 17
Bap—Marmaduke son of Marmaduke and Mary Redman of Casterton ffell gate.

The Redmaynes were once lords of the manor of Mansergh.*

175$\frac{8}{9}$ January 29
Buried—Mr James Place of Barbon Beckfoot Surgeon.
„ April 6
„ Elizabeth wife of Mr William Scott Surgeon of Kirkby Lonsdale.
„ May 10
„ John Beck of New Hutton in Kendall Parish drowned in Lune

FIRBANK TRANSCRIPT.

1758 Dec 17
Buried—Luke Fawcett Buried at Grey-rig Meeting House

KIRKBY LONSDALE.

1761 sep 20
Bap—William son of James and Mary Gibson of Fellgarth in Casterton
1761 April 24
Bur.—John Frankland, a Stranger, killed by a fall into a Coal Pit near Barbon.

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* In 1584 the fee simple of Terry Bank was obtained by payment of £15 to Marmaduke Redmayne.—Conder Family Papers.

July 11
Bur. Nathan son of James and Margaret Harrison of Low fields
176¾ January 15
Bur. Mrs Ottway widw of Mr Ottway of London apothecary.
1765 March 30
Bur.—Mrs Godsalve of Rigmaiden
—— Nov 20
Bur.—James Ashton Esqr of Underley Hall
1766 April 6
Bap.—Roger son of Mr William & Mrs Elizabeth Carus of K. Lonsdale

MANSERGH TRANSCRIPT.

1768—Dec 12
Bap—Alice dau of the Revd Mr William & Margaret Sedgwick born 10th

KIRKBY LONSDALE.

1769 May 3
Bap—Elizabeth Dau of Mr William & Mrs ann Birdsworth of this town born apl 4

KILLINGTON TRANSCRIPT.

177⁰⁄₁ Feb 17
Bap. Jacob son of Iacob Morland of Caplethwait gentlemen

FIRBANK TRANSCRIPT.

177⁸⁄₈ Feb 22
Burials Abigal. Wife of Richard Woofe Buried at Grayrigg Meeting House
„ March 4
„ Margaret Herdson Buried at Grayrig Chapel.

After entering the transcripts they are signed by the vicar or curate and churchwardens.

W. Pearson, Curate
Churchwardens { Thomas Lawrans, Richard Middleton, Joseph Gibson, James Hopkind

KIRKBY LONSDALE.

177⁸⁄₇ March 13
Bur—Richard son of Seth Physick of Casterton
[The surname was Fishwick.]

KILLINGTON TRANSCRIPT.

1778 Dec 24
The Revd Mr Sclater, buried.

KIRKBY LONSDALE.

1779 april 9
Bap—John Scott Lawrence son of J^{no} Scott Lawrence of the Island Tortola in the West Indies 10 years old.

Oct 6
„ George son of Thomas and Mary Lawrence of Underley

1779. Dec. 17
Bap.—Edward Jackson son of Miles North Esqre and Mrs Susanna North of Jackson Hall

1779 oct 18
Bur Mr John Tomlinson of Biggins aged 44 Buried at Melling

1780 May 6
Bap—John son of Richard Gathorne Esqre & Mrs Elizabeth Gathorne of K Lonsdale

KILLINGTON TRANSCRIPT.

1780 April 14
Burials—William son of Mr John & Mrs Jane Wadeson

KIRKBY LONSDALE.

1781 July 20
Bap—John son of Mr Henry & Elizabeth Bickersteth of K Lonsdale born 19 June.

178$\frac{1}{2}$ Feb 27
Bur.—Mrs Margaret Maudesley of Rigmaiden Hall. Widow

178$\frac{2}{3}$ March 17
Bur—Miles Craston Sexton of K Lonsdale 46 years.

1783 augst
An Act for granting to his Majesty a stamp duty on the Registry of Burials, Marriages, Births, and Christenings, commencing the 2^{n} day of October 1783. 3^{d} each.

This was known as the "Stamp Act." It was repealed in 1794.

In 1785 there was an outbreak of smallpox. Numerous deaths occurred in the Kirkby Lonsdale Poorhouse from April to November.

1793 March 7
Bur—Revd Mr John Wilson, late Master of the Free school in Kirkby Lonsdale for 50 years. aged 77

1793 January 3
Bap—Roger son of William Wilson Carus Esqr & Mrs Margaret Carus of Kirkby Lonsdale born Oct 11 1792

1793 Nov 3
Bap. Robert Carus son of William Wilson Carus Wilson Esqr and Mrs Carus Wilson of K Lonsdale. born oct 26th

1797 Augst 27
Bur—William son of John & Dinah Foxcroft of Casterton, Postboy that was killed

1801 July 26
Bur. Nicholas Fenwick of K Lonsdale. Gentleman aged 69

1803 June 30
Bur—Robert Bateman of Lupton schoolmaster and Clerk. 40. died 27 June

1804 oct 12
Bap—Edward son of Edward Tomlinson of Biggins. in Lordship of K Lonsdale, yeoman and Elizabeth his wife born Dec 7 1803.

Hutton Roof Transcript.

1804 May 1st
Marriage.—George Atkinson Stonemason Bachelor to Bella Rawlinson spinster by Licence by John Dobson Clerk Curate of Hutton Roof in the presence of Ewan Rawlinson and Mary Wadeson

Mansergh Transcript.

1804 sep 12
Bap—Robert Atkinson son of the Revd. Edward Gorill and Alice his wife born Aug 20.

Kirkby Lonsdale.

BAPTISMS FOR THE YEAR 1806

January 1—Robert Atkinson son of the Revd Edward Gorill of Kirkby Lonsdale Clerk and Alice his wife born 20 aug 1804 Baptized January 1.

There is a curious mistake in the date and place of the baptism of this child.

HUTTON ROOF TRANSCRIPT.

1807 Sep 27
Bap.—Archibald Blair of unknown Parents born in Berbice Guiana South America

KIRKBY LONSDALE.

1812 Dec 6
Bap. Edward Ridge Reeves son of Edward Ridge Reeves of K Lonsdale Captain of Army in India and Louisa his Wife born 16 oct.

1812 November 28	died.	Bur.	age
Bur—Richard Reynolds of K Lonsdale Late of London	23	28	58

J. Sharp. Vicar. Miles Craston John Pollard Churchwardens

In 1811 the Government proposed to place the registers in each province under the control of a Register-General, but the bill was allowed to drop. In 1812 an Act was passed for "the better regulating and preserving registers of births, marriages, &c." This Act, known as Rose's Act, enforced the annual transcript being sent to the bishop's registry. In 1833 a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to enquire into the state of the parish registers, and to devise an improved scheme of general registration.

In 1836 an Act was passed by which the registers of baptisms and burials were left undisturbed to the care of the parochial clergy, whilst the State assumed for the first time the duty of registering in one public office the births, marriages, and deaths of the whole population irrespectively of their religious belief.

With regard to fees for searching parish registers, it was assumed, before the Act of 1836, that the public had no right at all except by the favour of the clergyman and churchwardens, and Chief Justice Tenterden judicially declared :—*

* Rex v. Smallpiece, 2 Chitty's Reports, p. 288, vide *Parish Registers in England*, by R. E. Chester Waters, London, 1883.

I know of no rule of law which requires the parish officers to show the books in order to gratify the curiosity of a private individual.

The Act of 1836 fixes a uniform scale of fees both for searches and certificates, but the case of extracts not certified by the minister is not provided for. It is enacted that :—

Every rector, vicar, or curate, who has the keeping of any register book of births, deaths, or marriages, shall at all reasonable times allow searches to be made of any register book in his keeping on payment of one shilling for a search of one year, and sixpence for every additional year, and two shillings and sixpence for every entry certified under his hand as a true copy of the register.

The transcript, containing about 30,000 entries, of the Kirkby Lonsdale registers from which I have extracted the foregoing entries in this paper was made for me some years ago, with the kind permission of the present vicar, the Rev. Dr. Llewellyn Davies, by Mr. Thomas Jennings of Kendal.

ART. XIX.—"*The Anatomy of the Earth:*" *by Thomas Robinson, Rector of Ousby in Cumberland, 1694—with a Note on the Author.* By JOSEPH GREENOP.

Read at Carlisle, April 19th, 1904.

THIS quaint little work is the first of several books published on Natural Philosophy by Thomas Robinson, Rector of Ousby, Cumberland. Of Robinson's antecedents little seems to be known. He is given half a column in the Dictionary of National Biography, but the author seems to have depended upon the articles on Ousby, in Nicolson and Burn's *History of Cumberland and Westmoreland,* Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland,* and Jefferson's *History of Leath Ward,* for any account of him.

Referring to these authorities, I find that Nicolson and Burn mention him as Rector of Ousby, and in the list of the rectors of that parish he is given as Thomas Robinson, B.A.* Then follows a note, that he was author of "An Essay towards a Natural History of Westmoreland and Cumberland"; also that he was collated to the living by Bishop Rainbow.†

Hutchinson complains of the slight recognition of him by "our late county historians," apparently referring to the above.‡ He says:—

It is much to be regretted that in less than a single century, it has been found impossible, after a very diligent enquiry, to collect any considerable information of a former rector of this parish (Ousby), who, in his day, was a useful and valuable man, and whose works

* Jefferson, in his "History of Leath Ward," p. 257, says he was afterwards M.A.

† Edward Rainbow, D.D., Bishop of Carlisle 1664-1684.

‡ Hutchinson's "*History and Antiquities of Cumberland,*" vol. i., pp. 224 and 225.

still reflect no ordinary credit on our county. The person here alluded to is the Rev. Thomas Robinson, who was the author, not only of the "*Natural History of Westmoreland and Cumberland*," but also of "*A Natural History of this World of Matter and this World of Life*," and the "*Anatomy of the Earth*." All these are uncommonly learned works, now become scarce, and it deserves to be noticed, how nearly many of his conjectures on sundry deep and difficult subjects, suggested almost in the infancy of experimental natural philosophy, coincide with the best received opinions of modern philosophers.

The Anatomy of the Earth, 4to, was published in 1694. It was printed for J. Newton, at the Three Pigeons in Fleet Street, and from the same publisher's advertisement in a later work by Robinson, the published price is given as sixpence. It can scarcely be called more than a pamphlet. The dedication is quaint—"To the Gentlemen Miners." It has been suggested that the "Gentlemen Miners" referred to, were the Royal Company who worked the Keswick mines. In the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series, a copy of an indenture is given. This indenture, dated December 10, 1564, was made between the Queen (Elizabeth) on one part, and Thomas Thurland and Daniel Heckstetter on the other part, granting the latter the right to prospect for, and work minerals in this county. Thurland and Heckstetter discovered copper ore in Cumberland and worked the Keswick mines, and in these mines Robinson took the greatest interest.*

This pamphlet was followed by a more pretentious work, whose full title is as follows †—

New Observations on the Natural History of this World of Matter and this World of Life: In Two Parts. Being a Philosophical Discourse grounded upon the Mosaick System of the Creation, and the Flood.

To which are added:—Some Thoughts concerning Paradise, the Conflagration of the World, and a Treatise of Meteorology: with

* See the article on "The Colony of German Miners at Keswick," by J. F. Crosthwaite, F.S.A., in these *Transactions*, vi., pp. 344-354.

† A copy of this work is in the Jackson Library, Tullie House, Carlisle.

occasional remarks upon some late Theories, Conferences, and Essays.

By Thomas Robinson, Rector of Ousby, in Cumberland.

London:
Printed, for John Newton at the Three Pigeons, over against the Inner-Temple-Gate in Fleet Street, 1696.

It has two dedications; the first to "The Rev. Mr. William Nicolson, Arch-Deacon of Carlisle," and the second to "The Gentlemen Miners." It is 8vo., and was published at 2/6. The reference to Archdeacon Nicolson in this dedication introduces us to the "Pepys of the North," the distinguished Bishop Nicolson.* From his very interesting diary, published in these *Transactions* † we get many references to Robinson extending from 1685 to 1713. He seems to have visited Rose frequently, and the bishop refers several times to dining with Robinson at Ousby and meeting with him at friends' houses.

In 1709 he published ‡

An Essay towards a Natural History of Westmoreland and Cumberland, wherein an account is given of their several Mineral and Surface Productions, with some directions how to discover Minerals by the External and Adjacent Strata and Upper Covers, &c.; to which is annexed a Vindication of the Philosophical and Theological Paraphrases of the Mosaick System of the Creation, &c. By Thomas Robinson, Rector of Ousby in Cumberland. London: Printed by F. L. for W. Freeman at the Bible against the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleet Street, 1709.

This was dedicated "To the Right Hon. Richard, Lord Viscount Lonsdale, Baron Lowther of Lowther." It was published in two parts, 8vo, and was sold at 3/-.

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* Archdeacon of Carlisle, 1682-1702: Bishop of Carlisle, 1702-1718.
† Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, New Series, edited by the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness.
‡ A copy of this work is in the Jackson Library, Tullie House, Carlisle.

Thomas Robinson was rector of Ousby from 1672 to 1719. It is said of him that he was a warm encourager of village sports, especially football. On Sunday after service he presided at a kind of club at the Village Alehouse, where each member was not allowed to spend more than one penny. He is referred to as beloved and respected by his parishioners, and it is added that he was of a cheerful and convivial disposition and a man of humour.

He must have spent a considerable time in getting the facts and materials for his books together. Hutchinson says:—

Mr Robinson seems to have been much concerned in what he calls "The Inspection of Under-ground Projects of several kinds and Nature." The place of his habitation, under Cross Fell, where he says he had passed *thirty* years in the study of Subterranean Philosophy, was peculiarly favourable to such enquiries; and his abilities seem to have procured him many respectable friends and patrons, though it does not appear that he ever obtained any other preferment than this small rectory.

Robinson was concerned in the management of a colliery at Bolton in Cumberland belonging to the Duke of Somerset, and having sunk £150 in the venture, complained bitterly of the Duke's conduct with regard to him, as it would seem that the venture had not been successful.

Whilst searching in the Jackson Library, Tullie House, Carlisle, I came across a sermon published by him, entitled:—

A Sermon Against Prophane Cursing and Swearing, being a Charitable Admonition to her Majesty's Fleet. By T. Robinson, Rector of Ousby In Cumberland. "But above all things, my Brethren, swear not at all," &c.—James v., 12. London: Printed for W. Freeman, at the Bible against the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleet Street, 1710.

The dedication is as follows:—"To the Ship's Company of her Majesty's Ship Panther, Captain John Trotter Commander."

Robinson, in opening the above, says:—

Gentlemen,

The many civilities I have received from you since I was your Chaplain have so much obliged me that I cannot make a better Return than by presenting you with this plain sermon against prophane swearing. [He continues, that he does so, not because swearing was common amongst them, in fact, he commends them for having discontinued the habit, but tells them that he does so because they must take heed lest they fall into the sin again; and concludes] I am now going to leave the charge I have had over your souls. But my prayers to heaven shall not be wanting for you and then you need not fear the power of France, nor the malice of hell.

From a reference in Bishop Nicolson's diary (Nov. 13, 1708) it would appear that his ventures in mining and literature had not been successful, and that he was in serious pecuniary difficulties, so that he had for a time to seek shelter in London. It was during this time, 1708-1710, that he had received the appointment as chaplain to the *Panther*, meantime holding the living of Ousby.

He is back in the north in 1711 as optimistic as ever, as from another note in the diary the bishop says (Oct. 25)—"Mr. Robinson on his way to the audit in expectance of £50 for his whimsical MS."

If little is known of Thomas Robinson, still less is known of his family. Unfortunately the oldest register of Ousby Church has been destroyed, so that it is impossible to trace any account of his family through that channel. Of the county historians, Hutchinson is the only one who mentions the subject:—Robinson, he tells us, had eight children, but he was unable to trace any of them. Referring again to Bishop Nicolson's diary, we find that the eldest son was at Egremont, and that another son, Will, was the bishop's godson. Mrs. Robinson was desirous of having this son placed with the bishop's brother, Joseph, apothecary of London.

For a further account of the eldest son, I am indebted to Mr. W. N. Thompson of St. Bees. It appears that his

name was Thomas, and that he was educated at Appleby School, and admitted a sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge, May 19, 1690, aet. 15.* He graduated B.A., in 1693, apparently going no further. He was presented to the Rectory of Egremont, 13th July, 1700, by the Duke of Somerset, and retained the living until 1737.† As Rector of Egremont he was ex-officio Governor of St. Bees' School, and attended for the first time in that capacity Nov. 13, 1701, and for the last time Oct. 9, 1730.‡

In conclusion, I introduce this little pamphlet, trusting that an interest may be awakened in some of our early Cumberland writers, and with the hope that further contributions may be made regarding them.

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* *St. John's College, Cambridge: Admissions, etc.*—Ed. by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor. Pt. ii., p. 120.

† Hutchinson's *Cumberland*: ii., p. 26.

‡ *Archbishop Grindal and his Grammar School of St. Bees:* by W. Jackson p. 54.

THE ANATOMY OF THE EARTH.

By *THO. ROBINSON*,
Rector of *Ousby* in *Cumberland*.

Ne miremur tam tardè erui quæ tam altè jacent.
Senec. Nat. Qu. *lib.* 1. *cap.* 30.

LONDON,
Printed for *J. Newton*, at the Three *Pigeons* in *Fleet-street*, 1694.

Licenced
January 12,
169¾.
EDWARD COOKE.

TO THE
GENTLEMEN MINERS.

Gentlemen.

I *Could not direct this small Treatise, unto a more suitable Patronage, than by devoting it to your Fraternity; the Contents of it, aiming at the more hidden, as well as visible Parts of the* EARTH. *And the Opportunities I have had, of being sometimes Underground, and the Curiosity of making that dark or occult Region, a Subject of Speculation, will, I hope, plead my Excuse, if I attempt Philosophically to describe those several Metals, Mines and Minerals, with the different Natures and Qualities of their Feeders, or Mineral Waters, which a Mechanick relates only by Rott: It is not out of any great conceit of these Notions, that I have been bold to make them publick, or Dedicate them to you; but out of a strong desire to set some greater Wits on work, to Improve the Subterranean Philosophy; and if these may but contribute to carry on that Design, and have a candid Acceptance, they will encourage me to carry on some further Projects I have in hand, which may be diverting atleast, if not profitable: I am, in the mean time,*

GENTLEMEN,

Your hearty Well-wisher
and humble Servant,

THO. ROBINSON

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THE ANATOMY OF THE EARTH.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation of Matter; *the reducing it into Form and Order; and the infusing a* Vital Spirit *into it.*

The first part that the Almighty created of this *Sublunary World* was *Matter;* which consisted of innumerable Particles of divers Figures and different Qualities, running a Reel in a dark Confusion. In this State they continued, bound up and hamper'd with a vast thick Fogg or Mist of a waterish substance, extending it self as far as the Moon's Vortex, until the *Spirit of God moved upon the Face of the Waters*, or (as the word in the *Hebrew* signifies) *sate on brood* on the rude Mass, and, by vital Heats and Incubations, did digest it into an orderly World: by whose infusing into it, and every part of it, a vital Spirit, it became a great Animal; having Skin, Flesh, Blood, Bones, Nerves, *&c.*

CHAP. II.

Of the Skin *of this Animal; the production of Living Creatures*, &c.

The Outer Coat and Surface of the Earth is its *skin*; which (being concocted and digested by the influence of the Sun's Beams, and having a *Plastick power* infused into it by the *Spirit of Nature*) became productive not onely of Grass, Trees, and other Vegetables, as the skins of other Animals naturally grow hairy; but, when it was in its full strength and vigour, it brought forth all kinds of Birds, Beasts and Serpents, as naturally as it now brings forth divers kinds of Insects, or, as the Skins of other Animals bring forth Lice.

For, the influence of the Sun (which the old Philosophers called the *Spirit of Nature*), striking upon the passive matter, did, by vertue of its plastick and vivisick Quality, modifie into such a Figure, as that it necessarily drew down (out of the lowest Sphere, of Life) the Seminal forms of all kinds of Vegetables; as a Load-stone draws Iron to it when it comes within the Sphere of Activity. Thus all sorts of Plants began first to peep out of the Earth, as Corn out of the Furrows; which, retaining Seed in themselves, did afterwards propagate their own Species by univocal Generation.

Again; by a Second influence of the Spirit of Nature, this same passive Matter (but now more enobled) drew down, by way of Sympathy, out of the second Sphere of Life, the Seminal forms of all Beasts, Birds, Fishes and Insects: which, by the power of their Loco-motive Faculties, began first to creep out of their Nests of Matter like young Birds with the Shells upon their heads; but, as their strength encreased, soon crawl'd abroad to feed on such other products of Nature as they found suitable for the support and gratifying of their sensitive Life.

Once more; the same Spirit of God or Nature did modifie Matter into a yet nobler Form; being not onely made capable of receiving the Vegetable and Sensitive Life, but fitted with Organs to entertain an Intellectual Soul: which, *Moses* tells us, *God breathed into it*; it being impossible for barely modify'd matter to bring down (by any Sympathy there could be betwixt them) a Soul out of the Intellectual Sphere to inform it. This excellent Creature God was pleas'd to make after his own Image—Spiritual and Immortal; capacitated not onely to be the Governour of this inferior World; but to serve him and adore him, his Creator.

The first Individuals of this noble Species were called *Adam* and *Eve*. Yet whether by *Adam* and *Eve* are meant single persons; or a whole Generation of Men and Women, which stock'd all the World at once; or, by *Adam* is to be understood onely the rational and Masculine Faculties of the Soul, and by *Eve* the Feminine and subservient, I leave to those who pretend to knowledge in mystical Philosophy. But perhaps (tho' *Moses* was certainly the greatest Philosopher that ever was in the World, and his account of the Creation be much *ad hominem*, yet) 'tis not safe to vary so far from the literal Sense of the Text. Onely; It may be urged, by way of Argument, that if Blackness be natural to the *Æthiopian*, and Whiteness to the *European*, they do not derive Original from one single Person: but, instead of that, it seems probable that the different Soyls, or various Modifications of Matter in several parts of the World, produced Men of different Colours and Complexions. Which may also be the reason why some kinds of Animals are, to this day, peculiar to their own several Countries: whence *Africa* breeds so many venemous Creatures, *Ireland* none; *Athens* Owls, *Crete* none; *Pontus* no Asses; *Scythia* no Swine, &c, and thousands of strange Beasts and Birds are proper to *America*, such as no *Greek*, *Roman or Hebrew* Author has ever mentioned, and of which some have thought it reasonable to doubt whether any of their great variety of *Species* ever came in *Noah's* Ark.

The Mountains and Planes being thus replenished with Grass, Plants and Fruit; the Forests with Beasts; the Air with Birds; and

the Seas and Rivers with Fish; *God cursed the Earth:* that is, so weakened its plastic power, that it could no longer *(propriomotu)* bring forth the more perfect and noble kinds of Creatures. But those inferior and imperfect Animals which we call *Insects* it still affords us, whenever the Matter is so modify'd, by the different degrees of heat, as to be capable of such Productions. Hence the several Months of the Year produce their several sort of Flyes; as *May*-flyes, *June*-flyes or Bracken-Clocks, and the like: Nay, every hour of the day hath its special kind of Flyes, as the heat increases or decreases.

Yea, and (possibly) its voluntary Productions do sometimes arise higher than these. For, in sinking of a Coal-Pit, I have found a large Toad in the closure of a stone near Three fathom under ground; where it could hardly have any other Generation than what was purely *Spontaneous*, being (as it should seem) produced out of a poysonous Matter enliven'd by the Subterranean-heat, and grown to that extraordinary Bulk it carry'd by a continual Attraction of pestilent Vapours, which abound in such dry open Stones as have lost their Feeders,

And as God made all the other Creatures, of an inferior Rank and Order, for the Use and Service of Man; so all these Monthly, Daily, and Hourly Productions of Insects, &c, are no less for his Benefit. For, as Toads and other venemous Animals suck up those poysonous Vapours, which, if dispersed through the Earth, would infect the Plants, and prove destructive of humane Health, if not of Life itself; so Flies and other Insects feed upon the Corruptions of the Air, which might otherwise contribute to the causing of many malignant Distempers.

CHAP. III.

Of the Fleshy-parts, *and Blood of the* Hair-Veins.

The *Fleshy-part* of the Earth is that which we call the *Grand-Cover* of it; which consists of Clay, Gravel, Sand, &c, and is fed and nourish'd with Water, as the Flesh of Man and Beasts is with Blood. So that those *Sand-bed-feeders*, and *Gravel-feeders*, which we meet with in this part, are to be esteemed as bearing the same Offices, and serving for the same Purposes, as the Blood in the *Hair-Veins* of Men.

Now, whenever this mighty Animal is wounded in the Skin or Fleshy-part, the Wounds are presently heal'd up by a Spirituous and Balsamick Ferment which circulates through all its Parts: in the same manner as Nature plays the Chirurgeon in the Bodies of other Living Creatures.

CHAP. IV.

Of the several Kinds of Metals *and* Minerals (*which are the* Bones *of this great Animal*) *their* Rise *and* Dibb, *&c.*

Under the Flesh lye the Bones, that is, Stones, Metals and Minerals: All which the Miners have reduced to seven *Genera* or Kinds, containing under them as many subordinate *Species* as there are either of Vegetables or Sensitives upon the Earth's Surface.

Stones are either *Noble* or *Ignoble:* whereof the Latter may be reckoned in three *Classes*, as being either of a Quality,

1. Terrene.
2. Unctuous and Pinguid.
3. Hot and Sulphureous.

Those of an Earthly Terrene Quality are of a round Grit, which will not calcine; and are either Red, White or Mixt. The *Red Stone* hath its Colour either from the *Day-Cover*, or from *Ruddle*, or from the *Iron-stone*; and these give the several Tinctures of Red, as Blood-red, Black-red, and Blewish-red. The White and Mixt are of the same Grit and Nature with the former: but, lying deeper, are better digested and stronger. All these lead to an *Iron-stone;* which is the Perfection, or Quintessence of 'em.

The second Class is of such Stones as will calcine, as *Lime-stone*, *Marble*, and *Chalk*; which are of a smaller Grit than those of the first kind. Under these lies often a grey Free-stone, mixed with Sulphur, and spangled with a kind of Oar: And, under this, a grey Metal; which turns quickly into another fat and black one, and immediately leads to *Coal*, the Perfection of this Sort of Stones.

Those of a *Fiery* and *Sulphureous* kind are those the Miners call *Rake stones;* being usually spangled with Sulphur, as the former are with Nitre: And these lead to Rakes or Veins of Oar, Gold, Silver, Lead, &c. All Stones of the same Grit claiming Affinity one with another, are nourished, and increase by an agreeable *Juxta*-position of Parts: So that, digging through the Day-cover, by the first Stone which lies true Dibb and Rise, you may easily discover what it will lead you to; whether *Coal*, *Iron*, or other *Metals*.

The more *Pretious* or *Noble Stones* differ in Quantity, Quality, Perspicuity, Softness, Hardness, Colour and Virtue, according to their several Temperaments and Modifications; and are reducible to three kinds, as being either,

1. Transparent.
2. Resplendent.
3. Opake.

The *Transparent* are Excrescences or Superfluities of Stones of a Fiery Nature; as Gums are of the natural Succus in several Trees of a hot Quality. The cause of their Transparency is their being of a watery substance *in esse primo;* and, by consequence, like Ice, wanting Colour: for the more colour'd any stone (even of the finest parts) is, the less transparent it must needs be; like Water tinctur'd with Black, Red and other Colours. The cause of their Hardness is their own natural heat meeting with the external heat of the Sun; which quickly ripens them into their several Degrees of Perfection.

The *Resplendent* are such as dart back and reflect Light with pleasure to the Beholder: and, in several of these, Nature may be well counterfeited by Art; as in the polishing of Marble, &c.

The most useful of all *Opake*-stones (which have the Honour to be esteemed precious) is the *Load-stone;* which is commonly found in Iron-Mines, as Cat-heads are in Stone-metals: And, as these are the Kernels and Quintessence of Stone-metals, so is the Load-stone of the Iron. 'Tis *Multum in parvo:* for in it the Spirits of the whole Mine concenter; whence, continually emitting their *Effluvia*, they attract Iron by Sympathy. For, as the Roots of Plants have an attractive Faculty whereby they suck in their proper Nourishment, so is this stone furnish'd with the powers of drawing in Iron as its proper *Pabulum.* These Spirits seizing on a small Needle rightly temper'd, will not suffer that light Body to rest (whilst 'tis placed on a point upon an even Ballance) till it stand full North and South; which is the natural position of the Load-stone, and all other Earthy Metals and Minerals that lye true.

Metals are either such as are,

1. Properly,
2. Improperly,

so called.

These latter are again divided into,

1. *Stone-Metal;* of a Nitrous and Saltish Quality; out of which Allum is drawn.
2. *Coal-Metal;* of a more Unctuous and Pinguid Nature.

Metals *properly so called*, are usually class'd under seven *Genera:* being differenc'd one from another as they have more of Water or Quicksilver in them, than of Earth or Sulphur; or *vice versâ.* For Sulphur is the Male-parent (having much Heat and Fire in it) and Quick-silver the Female, in the production of all Metals.

Those that have more of Quick-silver than Sulphur in their Temperament are Gold, Silver, Tin and Lead; and these are trans-

mutable, differing only in Degrees of Concoction. Brass or Copper, Iron and Steel, have more of Sulphur: Which, being either White or Yellow, makes all Metals of one or other of these two Colours. The intermedial Metals, or Minerals, which are neither true Metal nor Stone (but participate of the Nature and Qualities of both) are many: but the most principal of 'em are Salt, Nitre, Vitriol, Sulphur, Bitumen, Glass, Quicksilver, Sparr and Allum.

All Metals and Minerals (in their main Bodies) lye upon Flats, like Leaves in a Book or the pielings of an Onion; dibbing to the two Poles and rising towards the Æquator. From the latter part of this Rule there are indeed some Exceptions: As, 1. Where great Dykes incline them to the N.E. or N.W. 2. In flooded and broken Ground, upon the Skirts of great Mountains; where they lye confused with False and Counter-Dibbs, like Boards of Ice thrown upon the Banks of a River: which may probably be ascribed to the Devastations made by the General Deluge. 3. Upon the Coasts of the Sea or Main-Ocean; where they have their Dibb to the Sea, and Rise to the Shore: whereby Providence has not only design'd a Natural Concavity, fit to contain so large a Body of Water, but hath also wisely preserv'd the sweet Feeders (which circulate in the Viens of Metals and Minerals) from being corrupted and vitiated by the Intermixture of Salt-water.

CHAP. V.

Of Water and Mineral-feeders (*the Earth's* Blood) *the Original of* Springs, Hot Baths, *&c.*

In the Earth there is a constant Circulation of Water, as in other Animals of Blood; every particular Metal and Mineral having its proper Feeder, which, by thus circulating in it, preserves its Life, and carries in it the Spirit and Flavour of that kind to which it belongs: as may readily be distinguish'd, sometimes by the Tast; sometimes by the Colour; but most commonly by its Effects and Operations. Hence proceeds the great Variety of *Medicinal Waters.*

Whenever it so happens that several of these Feeders, of different and contrary Qualities, break from their natural Metals or Minerals, as, Sulphur, Allum-roch, Iron-stone, Coal, &c., aud meet together in one Stream, a struggle or contention immediately arises among them; and the hot Spirits of Sulphur, Bitumen, &c., being most Active and Vigorous, prevail usually over the cold Qualities of the other, and throw them into a boyling Ferment. And this is the true Cause of *Hot Baths.*

Here it will not be amiss to give some account of the Origin of *Springs*: which are neither the Off-spring of the Sea; nor are they occasion'd by Air condens'd in the Caverns of Mountains; nor are

they deriv'd from Rains or Dew; as several of the old Philosophers have variously guess'd and fancy'd. Which will be sufficiently apparent if we consider what follows. And,

1. That they do not come from the Sea is evident from the natural Dibb of Metals into the Sea and their Rise to the Shore; which makes it impossible for the Salt-water to penetrate them, or to break through those *Kells*, or thin Beds of tough Clay, which lye betwixt the several Metals, and preserve their Feeders from intermixing one with another. For, if we sink a Pit on the Sea-shore, and carry a Drift some hundreds of Yards under the Salt-water, we find still the natural Feeders of Coal or Stone without the least mixture of Salt.

2. If Springs were occasion'd by Air condens'd in the Bowels of Mountains, then in Summer they would over-flow and be more Rapid than in Winter. For, in Summer, under-ground Cold is more strong and piercing, and should (consequently) condense more Vapours, and so increase the Fountains: and, in Winter, the heat under-ground is more Active and Vigorons, and therefore ought (then most especially) to rarify the Vapours into Smoak and Mist, and thereby cause all Springs to be weak and feeble.

3. That they owe not their Original to the Dews or Rain should be (methinks) evident to the Eyes of all men; who will never be able to observe any of those which we call *Perennial Fountains* to flow either more or less upon the greatest Floods that happen. For the Rains (which are drawn up in Vapours, by the Sun's influence, from the Sea; and afterwards, being condens'd in the Air, drop down in Showers) do onely moisten and refresh the outward Skin and Surface of the Earth; and descend no further than is requisite for the necessary Sustenance of Plants, and for the supplying the common occasions of Man and other parts of the sensitive World.

It remains therefore that Fountains must have some other Original than has hitherto been assigned to them; and this (to me) appears no where more probably to be sought for than amongst the sweet Feeders of Quarries, Mines, *&c.*, which possibly will be further evidenced by the Discoveries that the next Chapter will afford us.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Tapping of Feeders; *Nature of Damp;* Firing *of Mountains, &c.*

Now tho' the most rapid Springs do break out and flow from the tops of the highest Mountains, and thence become the Heads of the greatest Rivers in the world, yet these Springs may be drawn down, and the Mountains tapp'd and dreign'd, by Cross-cutting (with a

Level-Drift) those Metals and Minerals, whose natural Feeders they are, and from whence they flow; and such Mountains, thus drawn dry, will fire of themselves. For the hot and fiery Spirits of Sulphur, together with the fat and unctuous ones of Bitumen and Coal (being now freed from the Shackles of the cool Feeders) uniting their forces, break out in Eruptions of Fire and Smoak; which has occasion'd all the wonders, we read off, at Mount *Ætna* and other flaming Mountains.

The Reason why Springs or Feeders break out more frequently, and flow more Rapidly, from the tops and skirts of Mountains, than from the plain and level Ground, is chiefly to be ascribed to the natural Position of Metals, *&c.* which on the Plains have an easier Dibb and Rise (in many places not exceeding a Yard at ten, upon the full Rise) and therefore very rarely, in such Grounds, appear at Day: whereas, on the Mountains, they commonly rise a Yard at two (sometimes a Yard at a Yard) and such a Rank rise must needs very quickly bring both them and their Feeders above ground. Besides, the height of the Mountains exposes them to the violence of Storms, Tempests and Thunder, which sometimes break their Veins: but these Accidents seldom happen on the Levels, where the Earth's Grand-cover shelters both Metals and Feeders from such violences. And thus, in our own Bodies, 'tis much easier to break a Vein in the Neck or Arm, where they lye nearest the Skin; than in the Buttocks, or any other such fleshy-part.

In the digging for Water 'tis observable that, as soon as we prick any Metal lying upon true Dibb and Rise, its Feeder will rise as high as the full Rise of that Metal; and if we dig through that into another Metal, we raise a second Feeder, which will rise a Degree higher in the Pit; and, by digging deep enough, we may bring the water to the Pit's mouth, which will save the Charge of Pumps.

Damps in Coaleries and other Mines proceed from the unctuous and fiery Spirits of Coal and Sulphur, which continually perspire out of the Coal-wall; and these, being gather'd into a Body, like so many dry Exhalations in the Belly of a great Cloud, discharge themselves in claps of Thunder, when fir'd either at a Candle, or by Clashing one against another. This the Coalyers call the *Fiery Damp:* and they usually discover its gathering together by the Candles burning blew, like flaming Brimstone, and the open Works being filled with the Smell of Sulphur. The way to prevent the Mischief of this Damp, is to hang a Grate of hot glowing Coals in the Middle of the Pit; which will presently draw and fire it, with little Damage or Danger.

Another *Damp* there is which proceeds from corrupt and stagnated Air; breaking forth out of old, crush'd and smother'd Works:

And this is usually either prevented or cured by sinking a Pit upon the old Works, and thirling into the New; whereby the Air easily circulates and purges itself.

A Third *Damp* is produced sometimes in the freshest Works by some part of the Air, being too close pent up in odd Corners, and wanting a free Communication with the rest of its Body; and this (though of the same Nature with that last mention'd, yet) has no offensive Smell, like the former, but insensibly and suddainly stifles the Work-men. All Dangers of this kind may be avoided, by being at the Charge of a sufficient Number of Air-pits and keeping the Thirlings clear and open.

CHAP. VII.

Of Dykes, Rakes, Veins, Strings, *&c. which are the* Nerves, Sinews *and* Ligaments, *of this Animal.*

The Bones of the Earth, as well as those of the living Creatures that are bred and nourish'd by it, are bound together by Nerves and Sinews, and are moved by their proper Joynts: and these are they which are known to all Miners by the common Names of Dykes, Rakes, *&c.* And the natural Position of all these is from the Surface to the Center, dividing and cross-cutting all the flat Metals and Minerals.

Dykes are so called from Division or Inclosing: and these are either Greater or Lesser. The *Great Dykes* are such as inclose a whole Field of Metals or Minerals; and divide it from Fields of another Species. The *Lesser* divide Metals or Minerals, of the same kind, into several Partitions. The natural Use of both is to preserve the Feeders, and they may (not unduly) be compared to Knots in Grass or Corn; which strengthen it and preserve the Sap, wherein the Life of that Vegetable consists. For, whenever a Field of Coal breaks out upon the full Dib, it's commonly dead; till we cross-cut a Dyke, which preserves the Feeder or Life of it. Wherefore these *Dykes* (consisting of a Confusion of several Metals, mixt together irregularly, without any certain Dib or Rise) are to be esteem'd the *Joynts* of the Earth. *Rakes* are so called from raking through (or cross-cutting) of Metals and Minerals of the same Kind or Species. In the Middle of these there is always some mettalline vein or other, supported and secured by strong Sills or Sides: and this, when it abounds with any kind of rich Oar, is termed a *Quick-vein;* as, on the contrary, when it contains nothing but Spar or Sulphur, 'tis called a *Dead-vein*, or *Rake.*

The various Dispositions of these Rakes, their several Foldings and Turnings through almost every Part of the Earth's Body, shews that Nature has not only design'd them as proper *Matrixes* or *Beds*

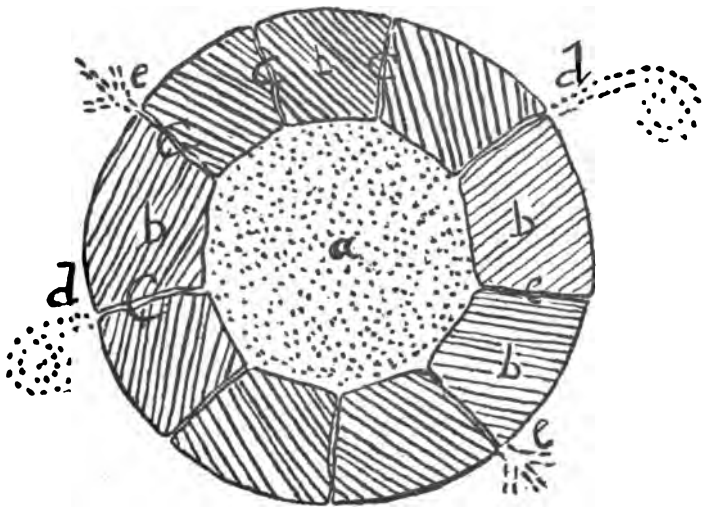
for the Production of the several Sorts of Metals: but did also intend them as Strengtheners and Binders of the whole Frame, serving the same Uses that Nerves, Muscles, *&c.* do in our own Bodies.

CHAP. VIII.

A Description of the Belly of the Earth, and what it may be suppos'd to contain; with an Enquiry into the Causes of Hurricanes *and* Earth-quakes.

Though the Poets usually represent those Treasures of Nature, whence Riches and Metals are digg'd, as the innermost *Viscera Terrae;* yet Philosophers and Mathematicians, who consider how small a Proportion the deepest Shaft bears to the Diameter of the whole Earth, reflect on all the Works of Miners as Scratches rather in her Skin than Wounds in her Bowels. At least, the Advances that have hitherto been made cannot be imagin'd to reach beyond the fleshy Part: So that (as Mr Boyle and others have observ'd) the short Discoveries, which the imperfect Skill and Industry of Mankind have as yet arriv'd at, are nothing in comparison of what lies still hidden and in the Dark.

However, by that little which we have seen, we may be allowed to make a Conjecture at the Nature *of the things that are not seen.* But (especially) the natural Position of most Minerals, lying on a flat one above another, with a Dibb and Rise, must unavoidably incline us to believe that in the Middle of the Earth there is a vast Cavity or Hollow, of a Regular Multangular Figure: as in the following scheme.



Wherein we suppose the mighty Space about *a*, to be fill'd up with a crude, and undigested, Matter, endued with several different and contrary Qualities, which are in a continual Struggle and Contention among themselves. Above these we have the Crust, or fleshy Part of the Earth, made up of the several Leaves or Foldings of Stone, Minerals, *&c.* as at *b b b b*, together with the Dykes and Rakes (or Sinews and other Ligaments) at *c c c c*. Now, when in the Intestine War below, the Airy Particles prevail they break through the Joynts of the Earth in *Hurricanes*, as at *d d*. And when (on the contrary) the fiery Particles are predominant, they force their Passage the same way, as at *e e* causing thereby flaming Eruptions and *Earth-Quakes;* sometimes with that Violence as to break the very Ribbs of the Earth, swallowing up Houses and Towns. And these Convulsions are as natural to the Earth as Feavers, Agues and other Distempers, are to the Bodies of other Animals.

CHAP. IX.

The Reason of the Seas Ebbing *and* Flowing; *and the Nature and Causes of* Noah's Flood.

The End and Design of that constant and regular Motion of the Seas, which we call *Ebbing* and *Flowing*, is not only to preserve that vast Body of Water from Corruption; but also to produce a seething Heat and Fermentation, whereby Vapours and Mists are rais'd and sent abroad. These being afterwards drawn up, by the Sun's Influence, as high as the middle Region of the Air, they are there condens'd into Clouds: which swim upon the Air, until (sinking gradually by their own Weight) they again descend in showers.

The Cause of this *Ebbing* and *Flowing* is not to be ascribed to the Moon; nor to any other External Agent. For though it keeps time with the Moon's Motion in its Increase and Decrease; yet from hence it ought no more to be argu'd that the Moon contributes to the Sea's Motion, than 'tis reasonable to conclude that one Man is the Cause of another's Running, who runs the same Race with him Shoulder by Shoulder, and Foot by Foot.

The *Ebbing* therefore and *Flowing* of the Sea is its own natural Motion: which, being circular, would presently carry it round the Earth's Globe, were not its Strength lessen'd and impaired by being divided into the Upper and Lower-waters. Nevertheless; it endeavours twice in every Twenty Four Hours to complete its Motion, and overflow the Earth: but, wanting a Sufficiency of Strength, and being beaten back by the Banks of the Sea (occasion'd by the Dib of all Metals into it) 'tis as often forced to retreat.

Yet, if it should please God once more to unite the Upper and Lower-waters (as in the Days of *Noah*) they would again be able to perfect their natural and circular Motion; and so cause another Universal Deluge.

CHAP. X.

Of the Diurnal Motion of the Earth.

As all other Creatures, that have in them a Principle of Life, have also a Principle of Motion and Self-activity; so has also this great Animal (the Earth) its natural Motion, whereby it turns round upon its own Center once in every twenty four Hours; exposing continually its cold Sides, to receive the warm Influence of the Sun, and the rest of Ætherial Bodies.

And it may be concluded, from Arguments of the greatest Probability, that this *Diurnal Motion of the Earth*, is caused by that vast Quantity of confus'd and undigested Matter, which is contained, and imprison'd in the *Belly of it:* For this Matter, consisting most of hot and fiery Particles, and such as are of an active and volatile Nature and Quality; which cannot rest, nor be fixed *in Loco*, must of necessity move in a regular and perpetual *Round or Circle*, by which Motion it may rationally be suppos'd, that they carry about with them the Shell, or Body of the Earth; and that the Violence, and Rapidity of their Motion, might not set the Earth on fire, God has hamper'd those brisk and active Particles, with others of a more dull, and heavy Nature.

And by thus ballancing and counterpoysing of those contrary *Qualities* of Heat and Cold, Siccity and Humidity, Gravitation and Levity, *The Motion of the Earth*, is not only made constant, regular, and uniform, but it is so firmly fixed upon its Center, that it is as impossible for it to move higher, or lower, as it is for the heaviest Rock to ascend, or the most nimble, and active Fire to descend.

Thus, as the Animal and Vital Spirits, which flow from the Heart, and by a constant Circulation through the *Veins*, *Nerves*, and *Arteries*, gives Life and Motion to our Bodies: So these subtile subterranean Spirits, whose principal Residence is in the *Center of the Earth*, diffusing themselves thoough the *Veins*, *Nerves*, *and Arteries* of it, gives not only motion to the whole Body; but by their vital Heat, ripens and digests those *Metals*, *Mines*, *and Minerals*, (which are the Constitutive parts of it) into their several Degrees, of Concoction, and Perfection.

That the Earth moves was the Opinion of some of the old Philosophers, as *Pythagoras*, *Democritus* and others: and that Hypothesis being reviv'd by *Copernicus*, is now agreed to by all (or most) of the

Moderns. And 'tis the more readily embraced, because 'tis not onely back'd with great strength of Reason (not to say Demonstration) but also removes the many gross Absurdities which clogg'd the contrary Opinion. For instance; what more ridiculous than to suppose the fix'd Stars to move (as Clavius computes the matter) no less than 176660 Miles in the 246th part of an hour? Or, what (on the other hand) more agreeable to common Sense than to believe that Divine Providence has communicated such a Motion to the Earth, as will most readily solve all the *Phænomena* of the Heavenly Bodies in their suppos'd Motions?

About the Earth would the Waters circulate; were not (as we have already observ'd) their strength and vigour abated by their Division. Round the Terraqueous Globe therefore moves the Aerial Region, or the Atmosphere; and, above that, the Moon: which is next Neighbour to this Animal, and its near Relation: being constituted of the same condens'd matter, but of a more cold and waterish Quality.

The Moon is indeed, in many particulars, very kind and Serviceable to the Earth. Not only by returning to it (at second hand) that Light, which itself does but borrow from the Sun; but also by repelling and beating down those Vapours and Exhalations which arise from the Sea, and thereby comforting and refreshing its weary and dry parts.

This cold Constitution of the Moon is the more discernable by us when she is in the Full. For then the Sun's *Globuli* of Light, being then darted back to us in a streight Line, bring with them some of the Moon's Moisture; in the same manner as a Tennis-Ball, rebounding from a whiten'd Wall, brings to our hand part of the Colour with it. And this is the Reason why we have the greatest Hoar-Frosts and Dews in the Full of the Moon; and why also, at that time, the moist Brains of such Madmen as (for that Reason) we call Lunatics are most undisturb'd.

Every of these particulars might be further enlarg'd on. Thus far the Reader is only presented with a rude Draught, and the first Lines of a New Hypothesis; which (if these Features take) may easily have its Proportions fill'd up, and be drawn at full length hereafter.

FINIS.

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5. The Anatomy of the Earth, dedicated to all Gentlemen Miners: By *Tho. Robinson* Rector of *Ousby* in *Cumberland*.

6. The History of *Don Quixot* of *Sancha*, and his Trusty Squire *Sancha Pancha*, now made English according to the Humour of our Modern Language, and adorned with several Copper Cuts: By *J. P.*

7. An Account of the Isle of *Jersey*, the greatest of those Islands that are now the only Remainder of the English Dominions in France, with a new and Accurate Map of the Island: By *Philip Falle*, M.A. Rector of St. *Saviour*, and late Deputy from the States of the said Island to Their Majesties.

THE END.

ART. XX.—*Recent finds, Mediæval and Romano-British, in and near Carlisle.* By L. E. HOPE.

Read at Carlisle, Sept. 8th, 1904.

DURING the present year, excavations for several extensive new buildings have been in progress in Carlisle, in all of which some remains of archæological interest have turned up. The two which have proved most productive are those on the site of the old Victoria Hotel in English Street, opposite the gaol, and on that of some shops in Castle Street called Swan's Premises, at the east corner of the cathedral grounds.

At Swan's Premises was found a small rectangular trough of red sandstone, 19 ins. long at the top and tapering to 11½ inches at the bottom, 7½ ins. deep and 9 inches across the top. It is difficult to conjecture what may have been its use; it is not ornamented in any way, and seems to have been portable, as it is slightly hollowed at the ends as if for grasping by the hand. It was found at a depth of 7 ft. 6 in. below the surface and with it were associated some Mediæval green-glazed potsherds, one curious piece being the neck or rim of a jar—4½ ins. across the top—with a small round spout-hole and two handles. This jar has been decorated with something resembling human arms and hands in high relief; these ornaments probably formed loops for passing a cord or strap around the neck of the jar. An iron axe-head was also found at a depth of 4 feet amongst made earth, and is perhaps comparatively modern.

At a depth of 7 feet was found a small earthenware bottle 2¼ ins. high and 3 ins. across. This bottle is apparently of the Mediæval green-glazed ware.

SCULPTURE OF LION (ROMAN)

Found at Swan's Premises, Carlisle. TO FACE P. 267.

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At a lower depth of 9 feet to 11 feet were found many fragments of Samian and other Romano-British ware, amongst which is a very perfect little jar or cup, with a handle, 4½ ins. high, of dark grey ware and of the design which is generally attributed to Late Celtic. A small sculptured stone, representing a lion devouring something, was found at this depth; this appears to have been broken from a larger stone and is of the type often seen on Roman sepulchral monuments.

A number of Roman coins were found here at depths varying from 6 feet to 11 feet and range from the reign of the Emperor Trajan to that of Constantine the Great. The most interesting is the first brass or sestertius of Antoninus Pius, with the rare reverse of Britannia. It is not in good condition but the portrait of the Emperor on the obverse and the figure of Britannia on the reverse are clearly distinguishable. This coin is supposed to be the origin of the figure of Britannia on our present-day coinage, and was struck under Antoninus to commemorate the successes of his proprætor in Britain.

The excavations on the site of the old Victoria Hotel produced several objects of Romano-British date, chief in interest of which is an example of the rare first brass of the Emperor Vespasian with the reverse of Judæa Capta. This is said to be the most interesting of the whole series of Roman coins; it was struck under Vespasian to commemorate the subjugation of Judæa. At a depth of 8 feet a very fine bronze spoon *(cochlear)* was found; it has been finely engraved and silvered, and is partly covered by a black patina which, on analysis, proved to contain traces of silver. Near the same depth an almost perfect jar of Samian ware was found; it is 3¾ ins. high and of a very unusual form, being a globular-shaped vase; the wide part of the jar has a laid-on or slip design representing the leaves and stem of a plant, a familiar decoration of some of the small saucer-shaped vessels of Samian. As the slip has been roughly put on, the objects

look almost like fishes. These objects have been presented to Tullie House by Major Spencer C. Ferguson.

At these excavations and at the depth of about 6 feet were discovered the remains of a large oak tank about 6 feet long by 4 feet wide, presumably of Romano-British date.

In excavating during 1903 for cellars at Messrs. Robinson Bros.' buildings, and at the site of the old Coffee House in English Street, the usual fragments and potsherds of Romano-British wares were met with; Major Ferguson secured a perfect little vase-shaped jar of dark grey ware, 3½ ins. high. A very fine gold coin of the Emperor Nero was also found at one of these places: the obverse has the head of Nero and the legend—*Imp(erator) Nero Cæsar Aug(ustus) P(ater) P(atriæ)*, and on the reverse —*Salus*.

An old thatched house, which stood at the junction of the Newcastle and Glasgow roads on Stanwix Bank, has recently been demolished, and in digging for foundations for new buildings a quantity of potsherds and fragments of Romano-British date were found at a depth of only 2 feet. Much of the soil was undisturbed and the potsherds lay on the clay. These include Samian ware, black, grey, and terra cotta ware, and portions of amphoræ and mortaria. One or two pieces are interesting; one, the base of vessel with nipped-in sides, is of cream-coloured clay; it has been painted a darker colour outside and black inside. Another is a third portion, intact, of a triple vase of dark grey ware. Part of a Samian vessel shews a spirited combat between gladiators and wild animals.

Two or three Roman coins were found, including a first brass of Trajan and a second brass of Hadrian.

At nearly the same depth half of an iron cannon-ball was found, 4 ins. in diameter. It is probably one of the shot fired at the Rebels in 1745. About the same level was found a large millstone about 28 ins. in diameter and

(1)

(2)

1.—Cochlear or Spoon of Bronze, formerly silvered. Found at Victoria Hotel, English Street, Carlisle, 1904.

2.—Bronze Toilet Article (Earpick ?) found at Victoria Hotel, English Street, Carlisle, 1904.

TO FACE P. 268.

a stone hopper about 12 ins. in diameter and 12 ins. high; the two were probably used in conjunction and are of comparatively modern date.

A find of Pre-historic age may be reported—that of a bronze socketed celt—discovered at Brough, Westmorland, in February, 1904. It is 3½ ins. long, of the type attributed by Prof. Boyd Dawkins to the late Bronze age; it was found while carting away a hillock near Swindale Grange.

ART. XXI.—*Cross-fragments at Arlecdon.* By J. H. MARTINDALE.

Read at Carlisle, September 8th, 1904.

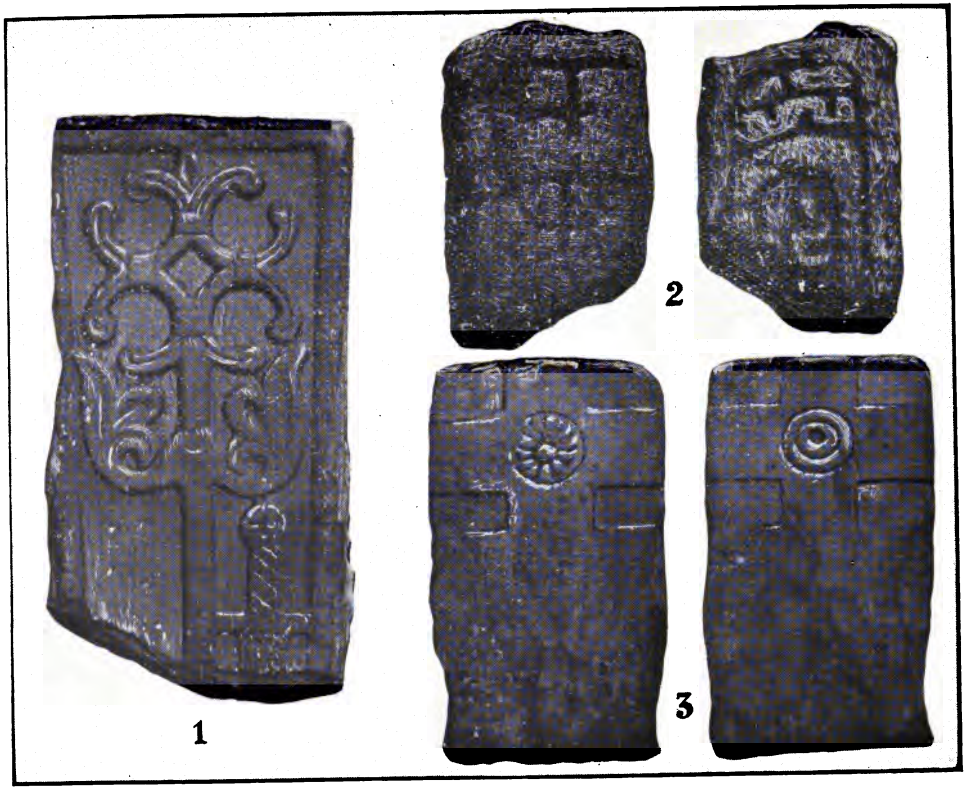
THE stones described below, and shown in the photographs, were all found during the recent alterations at Arlecdon Church, having been built into the walls at the time of the rebuilding about 1829.

The large stone (No. 1) is a portion of a very fine grave slab. It has a floriated cross-head and beautiful sword-hilt. The edge of the slab has a bold roll moulding. This fragment is about 2 feet 8 inches long, 1 foot 4 inches wide, and 8 inches thick. The cross and ornament are raised about three-quarters of an inch. The stone had been used to form an internal quoin to one of the west windows.

Stone No. 2 is very much mutilated, but appears to be a portion of the shaft of a pre-Norman cross. It is 10 inches long, 7 inches wide, and 5 inches thick. Scroll ornament appears on the face only, but there are two incised crosses on the back.

Stone No. 3 is the most singular, and seems in a perfect state. It is about 14½ inches high, 8½ inches wide, and 3 inches thick. It is rough or undressed for about one-third of its height, and above has a Latin cross in relief on both faces, the ground being sunk about a quarter of an inch; in the centre of cross on one face is a rose, and on the other simply sunk circles. The chiselling is very rough. This stone was found over the present east window of chancel.

Two other very small fragments were found, but they are probably only part of grave slabs, and are not illustrated.



CROSS-FRAGMENTS AT ARLECDON.

Photo. by C. J. F. Martindale.

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All the stones seem to be the red sandstone of the locality.

If No. 2 is part of a cross-shaft it will add another site to the pre-Norman list in Cumberland.

At the rebuilding in 1829 everything seems to have been destroyed, as only one or two small fragments of windows and archstones were found.

PROCEEDINGS.

April Meeting.

THE meeting for the reading of papers was held on Tuesday afternoon, April 19th, 1904, in the Art Gallery of Tullie House, Carlisle, the arrangements for which were made by Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., Chairman of Council. Among those present were the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness (president) in the chair, Chancellor Prescott (vice-president), Canon Bower, the Rev. F. L. H. Millard, the Rev. J. Whiteside, Dr. Barnes, Dr. Haswell, and Messrs. T. H. Hodgson and F. H. M. Parker (members of Council), Messrs. T. Wilson and J. F. Curwen, F.S.A. (hon. secretaries), W. G. Collingwood (editor), Archdeacon Sherwen, the Rev. A. G. Loftie, the Rev. A. J. Heelis, the Rev. R. and Mrs. Walker, Mrs. T. H. Hodgson, Mrs. Todd and Miss Todd, Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Clarke, Mr. J. P. Hinds and Miss Hinds, Mr. J. J. Wilson and Miss Wilson-Wilson, Miss Donald, Messrs. Arthur Lee, J. H. Martindale, John Robinson, C.E., W. Sessions, J. Greenop, R. M. Lidbetter, T. Wigham, E. J. Parker, M. Hair, and L. E. Hope.

The following new members were elected:—The Rev. J. Ewbank, rector of Bolton; the Rev. J. K. Floyer, F.S.A., vicar of Warton; the Rev. A. J. Holden, rector of Kirklinton; Mrs. Scott Hudson, Penrith; Miss Saunders, Edinburgh; Mr. W. T. Macintyre, Tullie House; Mr. R. E. Sedgwick, M.B., Carlisle; Mr. John Somervell, Kendal; Mr. J. P. D. Wheatley, Carlisle; and Mr. G. G. Wordsworth, Ambleside.

A paper on "Bishop Nicolson's Diaries, Part V.," was communicated by the President (Art. I.), and the following papers were read:—"Lay Readers in the Chapelries of the Lake Country," by the President (Art. VII.); "Some Grave-slabs in Cumberland," by Canon Bower, to be printed in a subsequent volume of *Transactions*; "A Grindal-Sandwith Pedigree," by Major R. L. Sandwith, C.M.G., and Mr. W. N. Thompson (Art. IV.); "Shap Petitions," by Messrs. R. J. Whitwell, B.Litt., and W. N. Thompson (Art. III.), read by the Editor in the absence of the authors; "Inglewood Forest," by Mr. F. H. M. Parker (Art. II.); "The Capon Tree, Brampton," by Mr. H. Penfold (Art. XI.), read in the absence of the author by Mr.

T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A.; "A Sculptured Trough at Tullie House," by the Editor (Art. XVII.), with some illustrations of pre-Norman crosses lately found in Norfolk, sent by Mr. Walter Rye; "Robinson's *Anatomy of the Earth*," by Mr. J. Greenop, who exhibited the rare tract (Art. XIX.); "Gospatrik's Charter," by the Rev. F. W. Ragg, read in the author's absence by the Editor (Art. V.); "Excavations at Burton-in-Lonsdale," by Messrs. H. M. White, B.A., and J. C. Walker, C.C., read by Mr. J. F. Curwen, F.S.A., with an exhibition of finds from the site (see page 283); "The Bowman Shield at Yanwath and the Shield at Barton," by Dr. Haswell (Art. VI.); "The Quaker-Jesuite, or the Actions and Writings of a Westmorland Vicar against the early Quakers," by the Rev. L. Heatherington, read by the Editor, with exhibition of the tract in answer to the attack (Art. VIII.) A paper on "Tapestry at High House, Hawkshead," by Mr. H. S. Cowper, of which the illustration was shown at the previous meeting, is printed in this volume as Art. IX.

The meeting lasted from two until about half-past six; at four, Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson kindly entertained the company to tea.

Tour to the Hebrides.

To meet the desire frequently expressed by members for a tour to places of interest beyond the boundaries of the Society's district, the Editor arranged a cruise among the Hebrides, as an extra excursion, to visit the pre-historic circles and forts, early churches, crosses and grave-slabs, abbeys and castles, especially those not easily accessible by the ordinary tourist routes. An attempt was made to "sample" these, and the weather proving favourable, the programme was successfully carried out.

The party of members and their friends who joined the s.s. "Princess Beatrice" for the whole or part of the cruise included the Rev. Canon Bower, Mr. E. T. Tyson, and Dr. Haswell (members of Council), Mrs. Haswell and the Misses Little; Mr. J. F. Curwen, F.S.A. (hon. secretary), Mrs. Curwen, Mr. H. B., and Miss Curwen; Mr. W. G. Collingwood (editor), Mrs. and two Misses Collingwood, and Miss Hilde Hamburger; Colonel and Mrs. Irwin, Mr. and Mrs. W. Scott, Messrs. W. I. R. Crowder, jun., W. J. Pratt, and J. R. Johnston, Carlisle; the Rev. E. E. Stock, Rocliffe; Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Jackson, Penrith; Miss Gough and Miss Macray, Whitefield; Miss Farrer, Bassenthwaite; Mr. H. P. Senhouse, Cockermouth; Messrs E. A. Thompson and W. L. Fletcher, Workington; Dr. Little and Dr. Crerar, Maryport; Mr. and Mrs. W. Little, Miss

Ullock, Miss Marston, and Miss Ethel Wilson, Windermere; Mr., Mrs., and Miss Harrison, Newby Bridge; Mr. W. Long, Windermere, and Mr. Alfred Holt, Liverpool; Miss Holt, Coniston, and Miss Florence Melly, Liverpool; Miss Gibson, Whelprigg; Mr. S. Hart Jackson, Ulverston; Miss and Mr. Dean, Cartmel; Mr. W. Brown, F.S.A., Mrs., and Miss Brown, Northallerton; Mrs. and Mr. W. K. Punshon, Ingleby; Mrs. Atkinson, Mrs. and Miss Stewart, Miss Cliff McCulloch, Dumfries; Mr. J. A. Henryson Caird, Cassencary; Mr. and Mrs. E. Reginald Elliot, Eaglescliffe; Mrs. Waldy, Yarm; Mr. W. G. Welch, Miss Alice Johnson, Lancaster; Rev. C. Robinson, Beverley; Mrs. Mounsey-Heygate and Miss Waller, Leominster; Mr. W. Heward Bell and Miss Bell, Melksham, Wilts; Miss Mitchell and Miss Watt, Hampstead; Miss S. R. Scott, Bromley; Mr. William Canton, London; and the Rev. R. L. Ritchie, Creich, Sutherland.

Rather more than half the party joined the boat at Liverpool on Wednesday, May 18th, and started in bright though breezy weather, which sent most of them below until the Mull of Cantire was passed next morning. Oban was reached in the afternoon, and there the rest of the company came on board. On Friday, May 20th, Eilean-na-Naoimh, Keills in Knapdale, Eilean Mòr in Jura Sound, and Castle Sween were visited; on Saturday, the 21st, after seeing Kilmory in Knapdale, they crossed to Ardmore Bay in Islay and visited Kildalton Church, where Mrs. Ramsay of Kildalton had kindly made preparations for their reception, and then proceeded to Oransay, where they were met by Mr. Niel McNiell, who showed them over the Priory; some of the party climbed Dun Domhnuill, and found the fort with its approaches, ramparts, hut circles, and rock-basin highly interesting. Early on the morning of Whitsunday they steamed up the Firth of Lorn, and through the Sound of Mull. Canon Bower kindly held a service on deck; the collection amounted to £10, which was sent to the Cumberland Infirmary. After passing Eigg and Rum and going up the Sound of Sleat, Captain Johnstone took the boat to the head of Loch Nevis and then up Loch Duich for the sake of the scenery, which was viewed to great advantage, with unbroken reflections on the water and streaks of snow on the higher mountains. The Minch was perfectly calm, and the sunset beautiful; in the evening, the Rev. R. L. Ritchie, minister of the Established Church of Scotland, gave an address on the influence of religion in forming the early history of the district through which they were passing. Stornoway was reached before eleven at night, looking romantic in the long northern twilight, with a half moon in the sky and lights on the fishing fleet in the harbour.

On the morning of Whit-Monday a start was made at nine o'clock for Callernish and Carloway, in carriages provided by the kind help of Mr. J. M. Morison of Stornoway, who accompanied the party. The weather was showery and windy for the long drive across Lewis and back. After a short halt at Garry-na-hine the three megalithic circles of Callernish were visited, and while some returned to Stornoway, the greater number drove on to see the famous broch of Dun Carloway. After dinner a concert was given by local singers, and the sum of £7 10s. collected in aid of the Stornoway Cottage Hospital, on behalf of which speeches were made by Major Matheson of Lewis Castle, Mr. Morison, and Mr. Ross, treasurer of the hospital, and Canon Bower replied.

Early on Tuesday morning, May 24th, the storm having abated, Rodil Church was inspected, and before midday Dunvegan Castle was reached. Macleod of Macleod most kindly took the party round, and explained the history and antiquities of the place. A vote of thanks was proposed by Canon Bower to the chief and his family for their hospitable reception, and the voyage was continued to Canna, where by Mr. Allan Thom's permission the old crosses and fort were visited. Anchorage for the night was found in Loch Scresort, Rum.

Wednesday was bright but windy, and there was some difficulty in landing at Scarinish, Tiree; but a large part of the company succeeded in going ashore. They were met by the Rev. Mr. Macpherson and the Rev. Mr. Maclean, who guided them to Dun Gott, the ancient chapels of Kirkapoll, and the forts of Dun Beg Vaul and Dun Mor Vaul. The steamer then passed the Dutchman's Cap and circumnavigated Staffa, reaching Iona early in the afternoon. A landing was made at Port-na-Fraing, where the party was met by the Rev. Archibald Macmillan and Mr. Alec Ritchie, who led the way to the chief points of interest and described the ruins. Visiting first the reputed site of St. Columba's original settlement, the early burial ground of Clach-nan-Duiseart, and the great boulder supposed by some to have been the monks' refectory table, they went up the Cnoc-na-Bristeadh Clach, where Mr. W. G. Collingwood explained his views as to the site of the Columban monastry in the Rath between the Lochan Mor and the road (see *Good Words*, March, 1904). Then by the site of the ancient mill and kiln they visited the Cathedral and Abbey ruins, St. Oran's Chapel and graveyard, Maclean's Cross, St. Ronan's, and the Nunnery. After tea on shore the ship was rejoined for the voyage back to Oban through the Sound of Mull.

On Thursday morning about 50 of the party left Oban by train, the remainder going back to Liverpool with the ship, a beautiful and quiet voyage, with a fine sunset off the Mull of Galloway.

On this excursion there were few speeches and descriptions at the sites visited, their place being taken by a handbook compiled by the Editor to the Society, and illustrated with blocks kindly lent by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and Mr. David Douglas. A few copies only of the booklet were printed for the use of those joining the excursion. A paper on the antiquities visited during the first two days appeared in *The Reliquary* for October, 1904, written by the Editor, and illustrated with photographs by Mr. W. L. Fletcher and Mr. H. B. Curwen.

Annual Meeting.

The annual meeting and first general excursion of 1904 was held in the Kirkby Lonsdale district on Thursday and Friday, June 30th and July 1st, the local committee being Messrs. W. O. Roper, F.S.A., J. F. Curwen, F.S.A., and W. G. Collingwood, to whom Mr. Anthony Moorhouse of Kirkby Lonsdale gave much efficient help. Among those present were the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness (president); Mr. W. G. Collingwood, (editor); Mr. and Mrs. H. G. Pearson, Barrow; the Misses Ullock, Bowness; Canon Trench, Kendal; Mr. Titus Wilson, Kendal, and Mr. J. F. Curwen, Heversham (hon. secretaries); Miss Wilson, Aynam Lodge, Kendal; Mr. and Mrs. James Harrison, Newby Bridge; Mrs. Hamilton and Miss Marston, Windermere; Mr. W. O. Roper, Yealand; Mr. J. Swainson, Stonecross, Kendal; Mr. and Mrs. Farrer, Bassenthwaite; Rev. T. B. Saunders, Greystoke; Rev. Still-Hill, Dufton Rectory; the Misses Noble, Beckfoot; Mr. F. Nicholson, Manchester; Mr. A. Moorhouse, Kirkby Lonsdale; Mr. H. M. White, Burton-in-Lonsdale; Mrs. Metcalfe-Gibson, Ravenstonedale; Mr. W. N. Thompson, St. Bees; Colonel and Mrs. Sewell, Cockermouth; Mr. J. Procter Watson, Castle Carrock; Mr. J. Robinson, Kendal; Dr. Matthews, Whitehaven; Canon Bower, Carlisle; Rev. W. H. Bartholomew, Ambleside; Rev. J. K. Floyer, Carnforth; Mr. L. C. Hodgson, Alnwick; Rev. A. J. Heelis, Penrith; Dr. Parker, F.S.A. Scot., Gosforth; Mr. and Mrs. Ford, Yealand; Mrs. Dyson, Ulverston; Miss Gough, Ireby; Mr. J. H. Martindale, Carlisle; Mrs. Richardson, Grasmere; Mr. Crowder, jun., Carlisle; Mrs. Todd, Harraby; Rev. J. Whiteside, Helsington, &c.

On Thursday, June 30th, the start was made from Carnforth in three carriages containing forty-seven excursionists on a bright warm morning, and at 10-50 a halt was called at Dockacres, where Mr. Roper pointed out the big basin once used for boats and connected by a canal with the Keer; also the site of Merhull Castle beyond, of which nothing remains but a few stones.

Borwick Hall was reached at 11, and Mr. Roper standing on the steps of the terrace gave an interesting description of the fine old building, seat of the Bindloss family, which rose in the time of Queen Elizabeth by the Kendal woollen trade. The initials of Sir Robert Bindloss and his wife Rebecca on a stone in the wall of the barn were originally in the front wall of the older lodge; the present lodge was built by the second Sir Robert. At the top of the staircase is carved the name of "Alexander Brinsmead, mason, 1595." The first Sir Robert died 1629, and is buried at Warton Church; he left £20 per annum for the maintenance of a chapel at Borwick, but under the Commonwealth the stipend was dropped, and the chapel was described as dropping. The second Sir Robert, grandson of the first, succeeded at the age of five years. He became M.P. for Lancaster, and afterwards a member of the Convention Parliament of 1651. He is said to have been an ardent Royalist, and was made a baronet by Charles I. in 1641, but never drew sword in the Civil Wars. On the other hand, he entertained Charles II. to dinner here on his way to the Battle of Worcester in 1651, and in the panelled dining hall the old oak table is shown as the one which was used at the feast. Sir Robert II. was active in the persecution of the Quakers and Roman Catholics, and when the occupation which this afforded him began to fail, entered the Corporation of Lancaster and became Mayor, but retired after six months. The Rev. Richard Sherlock, B.D., afterwards rector of Winwick, when chaplain at Borwick remonstrated with him on behalf of the persecuted Dissenters; and Sherlock's book, dedicated to Sir Robert and his lady (of which a copy was shown by Mr. Roper), leant rather to the Quaker's side. Sir Robert's daughter and heiress married a Standish, whose son "went out in the Fifteen," was taken, confined for six months in Newgate, sentenced for high treason, kept twelve months more in Newgate, and then reprieved and pardoned. He returned to Borwick, but heavy fines forced him to sell the Hall, which passed to the Townleys, the Stricklands of Sizergh, and thence to the Martons of Capernwray. From the main hall on the ground floor the panelling has been removed to Capernwray. A panelled staircase leads to the drawing room and other wainscotted apartments, one of which was used as a chapel by the Standishes. Above are small bedrooms, and at the west end the little chamber in which Lord Clarendon is said to have written his *History of the Rebellion.*

At the back of the hall is the picturesque gallery of which a fine view in photogravure has been published by a Lancaster firm of engravers. It may be added that there was already a pele on the site before the Bindloss hall was built around it, as can be seen from the thickness of the walls of that part of the house.

Burton Church was reached at 12-30, and the party was received by the Rev. F. W. Carpenter, vicar, and Mr. Chalmers, churchwarden. Mr. Chalmers described the history of the church (see these *Transactions*, xiii., art. 6, for his paper on the subject), and pointed out the four-foot wall of the tower, which may have been a pele. Mr. W. G. Collingwood showed the pre-Norman monuments (see Calverley's *Early Sculptured Crosses*, pp. 88-91).

The party next drove through Hutton Roof to the remains of the British village near Sealford, where the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness (who described the site in these *Transactions*, vii., p. 111), said that since writing his paper (in 1887 or 1888) exploration had been made by Chancellor Ferguson, the Rev. W. B. Grenside, and himself. They found no pottery, but bones which Professor Owen attributed to *Bos longifrons*. Two of the buildings within the rampart were excavated; one, the square building which had been thought an early chapel, but was found to be of rude stone-walling, not orientated, and to have no ecclesiastical features, and the other a hut circle, also rudely built, in which the Hipposandal (see these *Transactions*, v., Excursions in 1888) was discovered. Such Hipposandals were used for strapping on the diseased hoofs of horses, and about a dozen have been found in various places, in Germany as well as in England, and all connected with remains of the later Roman period. From this find it is probable that the place was a Romano-British village. An ancient trackway from the great camp at Burrow Hall passes the site, going towards Kendal.

At Kirkby Lonsdale, after tea at the Royal Hotel, the party was received at the church by the vicar, the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, D.D., and the President (vicar during restoration) described the building (for his paper, see these *Transactions*, i., art. 19).

The mote-hill or "burh" in the vicarage garden was next visited and described by the President. Like other such structures, it is the high end of a ridge of ground, heightened with the earth out of a ditch nineteen paces broad, to form a comparatively flat summit about thirty paces in diameter. It stands on the brink of the Lune, and part of the ditch has been eaten away by erosion owing to the concave sweep of the river. Excavation might reveal particulars of use in dating it, but it may be provisionally referred, with the great series in the neighbourhood, to early Norman times, as the castle hill of the lord of the district.

After dinner at the Royal Hotel, the President in the chair, the officers of the Society were re-elected. Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., member of Council, was added to the list of vice-presidents; and in his place and in that of Mr. George Watson, leaving the district for residence in the south at an advanced age, Mr. W. N. Thompson of

St. Bees, editor of the Society's volume of Bishop Gastrell's *Notitia* (in preparation), and Mr. J. Rawlinson Ford of Yealand Conyers, editor of the Society's volume of Hutton's *Beetham Repository* (in preparation), were elected members of Council. The following new members were elected :—The Cumberland and Westmorland Association in London, per Mr. C. Maugham; Mr. T. Taylor Scott, F.R.I.B.A., Carlisle; the Rev. G. J. Goodman, Brampton; Mr. N. S. Hawks, Brampton; Mr. W. Brown, F.S.A., hon. sec., Yorkshire Archæological Socieiy, Northallerton; Mr. E. Reginald Elliot, Eaglescliffe; Mr. W. K. Punshon, Ingleby; Dr. J. W. Crerar, Maryport; Miss Farrer, Bassenthwaite; Mr. W. G. Welch, Lancaster; Mr. J. Rooke Johnston, Carlisle; Mrs. Hamilton, Windermere; Mr. H. M. White, Burton-in-Lonsdale; Mr. Anthony Moorhouse, Kirkby Lonsdale; the Rev. T. B. Saunders, Greystoke; the Rev. Harold A. P. Sawyer, St. Bees; Miss M. E. Harrison, Windermere; and Mr. Arthur Walker, Whitehaven.

Papers having been disposed of at the previous meeting, the evening was spent in examining a large number of exhibits. Mr. Pickard showed a metal urn from the reputed tomb of Polycarp at Smyrna, an Etruscan polychromatic vase with lid, in a high state of preservation, found near Smyrna, and an illuminated writ-book or book of statutes, a north-country MS. of about 1300, which had belonged to John Lambart of Skipton.

Mr. Anthony Moorhouse exhibited a polished celt found during excavations in Thurland Castle park, and an ancient silver spoon from the moat at Thurland Castle, belonging to Mr. North; a bronze flanged celt found at Ingleton, lent by Mr. White; a perforated stone hammer found at Hutton, the property of Mr. Punchard; also the following from his own collection :—A bronze mortar from Middleton Hall grounds; copper, silver, and gold coins found in Kirkby Lonsdale and district, including a halfpenny of Cromwell; a printed programme of Sedbergh Sports, 1781, in which the last event was "The Great Main of Cocks between Thos. Willis Esq. and Harry Welch Esq., 10 guineas the battle and 100 guineas the main; 35 cock on each side;" two prints by Green, 1801, "Kirkby Lonsdale Bridge" and a "View from the Brow;" a gold rosary ring with ten orbs and a Latin cross on the bezel, aperture ¾ inch, found near Kirkby Lonsdale; a flint flake, scraper or knife, from Dent Fell; and an ancient jug of foreign pottery.

The President showed photographs of a Roman mortar from Burrow Hall in his possession. The Rev. Canon Trench exhibited and described photographs of antiquities in Ceylon. The Editor showed a bronze celt from Urswick, lent by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., and Mr. J. A. Barnes's sketch of a stone celt from Levens

(see "Addenda"); also photographs by Mr. H. B. Curwen, Miss Mitchell, Mr. W. L. Fletcher, Mr. W. G. Welch, and Mr. W. J. Pratt, with sketches by Mrs. E. R. Elliot, and members of his own party, illustrating the Society's cruise in the Hebrides.

On Friday, July 1st, Kirkby Lonsdale was left at 9 in the morning, and the party drove to Tunstall Church, which was described by Mr. W. O. Roper, F.S.A., as the third building on the site. The old church was dedicated to St. Michael, the present one to St. John the Baptist, being a perpendicular edifice with some flamboyant windows. Three points of interest make it remarkable —the first historic, in the effigy believed to represent Sir Thomas Tunstall, who fought at Agincourt; the second artistic, in the glass of the east window perhaps dating from the sixteenth century; and the third literary, for this is the "Brocklebridge Church" of *Jane Eyre*. The window has three panels—that in the centre represents Christ charge to Peter, in coarse but interesting French work, with the legend, "Ihs donne puissāce a S.P. delyer et deslier en terre." The two side panels are of very fine (Flemish?) work—one with the Virgin and Child, and the other with St. Anthony, his pig holding a torch in its mouth ("St. Anthony's fire"), and a votary of the saint with a curious shield of fanciful heraldry embodying the Tau-cross of St. Anthony. In the tower is a picture of the Entombment, apparently a copy from Paul Veronese or artist of his school; it used to be at the east end, under the east window. Over the door of the porch is a vertical sundial.

At Thurland Castle the party was received by Mrs. Lees and the Rev. W. B. Grenside, who, as a shower came on, gathered his audience under a spreading chestnut tree, and read an account of the castle as follows:—

THURLAND CASTLE.

Though now the charming and peaceful abode of the happy family who, I hope, will long be its possessors, the castle has passed through many vicissitudes, both before and after Camden recorded in his *Britannia* that "the River Lune runneth by Thurland Tunstall, a fortress built by Sir Thomas Tunstall in the time of King Henry IV." (circa 1410), when "the King had given him Licence to fortifie and Kernell his mansion-house, that is, embattle it." Sir Thomas was a soldier of distinction. He attended King Henry V. and fought at Agincourt, and for his services there was knighted, receiving a grant of the town of Pontevy as a reward.

Although a church had existed on the same site from pre-Norman days, as existing fragments testify, there can be little doubt that much of the present fabric was erected by him. The mutilated

monument, a mailed effigy, was removed from the recessed arch in the Tunstall chantry about the year 1810, when the crockets and finial of the tomb were barbarously hacked off, previous to the lining of the walls with red baize, placing a table in the middle with chairs around it and a fireplace in the angle, after the fashion of the day, for the fittings of the squire's pew. The monument of this mailed warrior has suffered seriously. It has recently been replaced in the chantry, but the altered elevation prevented its being again laid within the arched recess. That it is the tomb of Sir Thomas Tunstall, the hero of Agincourt, can hardly be questioned.

But there is one most interesting relic happily preserved in the castle court, probably the most perfect doorway of the period in Lancashire. You will notice how the left splay of the arch has suffered from the storms of many centuries, and every vestige of its ornamentation has disappeared; but on the left side of the arch may still be traced two sculptured fleurs-de-lis, a lion, a pomegranate, and a rose. I cannot help thinking the fleur-de-lis was introduced in reference to Sir Thomas' French possession of the town of Pontevy.

Sir Richard Tunstall, next but one in succession, was squire of the body to King Henry VI. and governor of Harlech Castle, the last place that held out for that unfortunate monarch. He died in 1492 and was succeeded by his brother, whose second son will ever be associated with Thurland; his name is immortalized in the masterpiece of Sir Walter Scott as "the stainless knight" of *Marmion*. From this very door Sir Bryan Tunstall went forth on his march to Flodden Field. Seventeen verses of the poem of the sixteenth century (edited by Henry Weber in 1808) are devoted to Sir Bryan's part in the battle, and his death:—

> Tho' he could not withstand such strength,
> Yet never wo'd he flee nor yield.
> Alas! for want of aid, at length
> He slain was, fighting fierce in field.

Sir Bryan's last will and testament (given in Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*) is a touching document. I have in vain sought for the original. It is dated immediately before his departure for Flodden, and shows his tender consideration for his wife and his little son Marmaduke. This boy he bequeaths to the care of his "Brother Doctor"—none other than the distinguished and eminent prelate, successively Bishop of London and of Durham, the intimate friend of Dean Colet, Sir Thomas More, and Erasmus. He ended his days a quasi-prisoner in the archbishop's palace, and lies in the chancel of the parish church of Lambeth. Sir Bryan in his will

beseeches his brother to put the boy to school, "that he may lerne to serve God in His Commandments."

Marmaduke, when arrived at man's estate, supported the great ecclesiastical changes under Henry VIII., and was one of the Commissioners appointed to visit Furness and enforce the "free" surrender by the abbot to the Crown of all the estates and properties belonging to that wealthy religious community. The deed of resignation bears his signature.

But we must drop down a hundred years or more, and still we find troublous times at the castle. The Tunstall possession of Thurland closed in the termination of the sixteenth century. By marriage with a daughter of Francis Tunstall, the Girlingtons became possessed of the Thurland estate. They suffered seriously in the great struggle with the Parliament. Sir John Girlington was High Sheriff of Lancashire when the castle at Lancaster was attacked in February, 1643. He held it for the King, but his anxieties about his own home were great, and he "stole away" with a small force to Thurland, and left Captain Birch, the Parliamentarian officer, to take possession of the stronghold without a blow being struck. Thurland was afterwards besieged by Colonel Rigby, and held out for six weeks; several cannon balls, relics of the fight, have been found in the moat, and the parish registers record the death of two soldiers:—

Mar. 28, 1643. Thomæ Willson (in bello cæsi) more bellico.
Apr. 23, sepult. Thomæ Woolfall, heroici Juvenis in bello cæsi. Jam fera tumescunt (plus quam civilia bella).

Colonel Rigby being successful in reducing both the castles of Hornby and Thurland, by an order of Parliament they were dismantled, and the ruined castle of Thurland, after an occupation by the Girlingtons for a century, was sold with the estate in 1698 and occupied as a farmhouse until it came into the possession of the North family, by purchase, in 1781. Major North of the Guards, who succeeded his father, was a man of great taste. He employed for the rebuilding of the ruined edifice Sir Jeffrey Wyatt, in the first decade of the last century. Sir Jeffrey was then engaged on the great work at Windsor Castle. His plans were destroyed in the fire which took place here some twenty years ago. With one small exception not a single original window remains, but the doorway to which I have alluded before is, from an antiquarian point of view, a gem of supreme interest. It is much to be regretted that Major North pulled down the gateway which had so long survived, in his latest addition to the castle buildings, in 1827 or 1828; but a small donjon with which it was connected remains.

THE BURH, BURTON-IN-LONSDALE.

Photo. Engineering Co., Glen Mill.

TO FACE PROCEEDINGS.

THE BURH, BURTON-IN-LONSDALE.

Excavation on summit, showing portion of circular wall,
and original floor some distance below the foundations of the wall.

TO FACE PROCEEDINGS.

The President proposed a vote of thanks to Mrs. Lees and to the Rev. W. B. Grenside, after which the drive was continued to Burton-in-Lonsdale. Here Mr. White led the way to the top of the mote-hill or "burh" of Burton (see the plates in illustration, facing these "Proceedings") and described the site, to which attention had already been drawn at our April meeting.

Mr. H. M. White of Hill House, Burton-in-Lonsdale, and Mr. J. C. Walker of Glenholme, Ingleton, are undertaking explorations of a series of ancient earthworks and remains around Ingleborough. For some months past they have been at work upon a mound at Yarlsber, Ingleton, and the well-defined erection at the old baronial village of Burton-in-Lonsdale known as Castle Hill. At Ingleton the finds have comprised a roughly cobbled pavement, prevailing everywhere, with flint chips and what might be termed arrowheads-in-the-making. A coarse black glass-like substance was also unearthed. No traces of bronze or metal were discovered. The earthwork strongly suggested the same type of workmanship as was observed at the Castle Hill at Burton-in-Lonsdale, save that the "citadel" at Yarlsber was less distinct.

The mound at Burton-in-Lonsdale dominates all the strategic points in the neighbourhood, and commands an unrivalled view of the surrounding country, especially of the bold headland of Ingleborough. Here have, doubtless, been planted fortified strongholds dating back to pre-historic times. The earthwork is of a military character, and bears a resemblance to mounds at Halton, Hornby, Sedbergh, Melling, Arkholme, Kirkby Lonsdale, and some hundreds of others throughout the country. The type is very common in Normandy.

The castle of Burton-in-Lonsdale is mentioned with other Mowbray Castles in the Pipe Roll of Henry I. in an entry of payment to the porter and guards of this and other Mowbray Castles. They must have been forfeited to the Crown by the rebellion of Robert Mowbray in William Rufus' reign.

The actual excavation has been performed by a thoroughly trustworthy man, who has been known over twenty years to Mr. White. The digging, which was commenced in the hollow at the summit of the high mound or "citadel," has laid bare an unsuspected wall, quite circular, and displaying at the north end a gap, with rounded facing at the supposed entrance. The wall proved to be only a retaining wall. It was well mortared, and the stone rudely dressed as with a hammer. Only one stone appeared to suggest marks of the chisel. It was splayed, and had the likeness of a window sill. The wall below this stone was much better preserved than the rest. The size of the stones varies from a few inches to

two feet in length. Old inhabitants now affirm they remember a circular wall round the summit.

Some inches below the foundation of the wall, and at a distance of four feet from it, there was found a roughly cobbled surface or "pavement," which seems to have been unknown to the builders of the wall. This pavement was bedded in stiff clay about three inches thick.

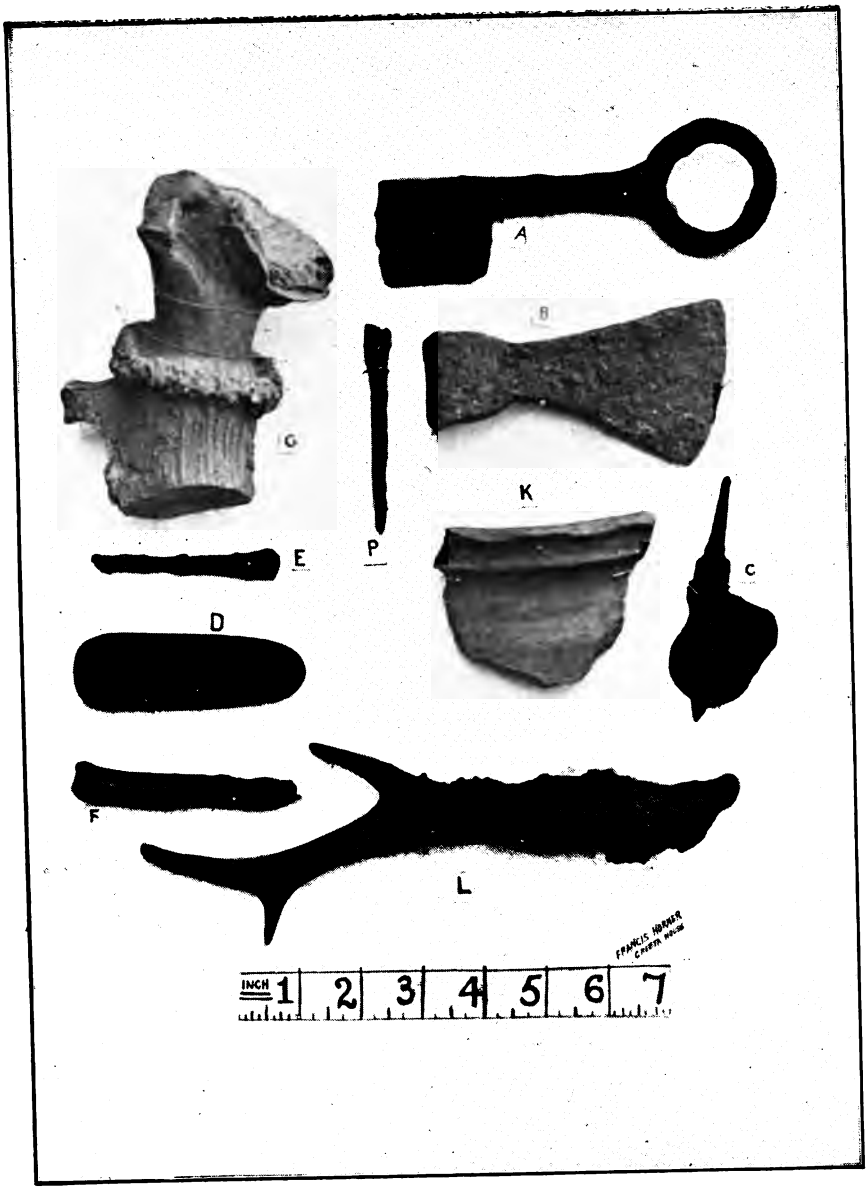
Upon the pavement generally was found a thin layer of a black wood ash. and the stone of the pavement almost invariably showed marks of fire.

The pavement everywhere was strewn with bones, almost invariably burned, charred, and in fragments. They comprised antlers, bones, and teeth of deer, boar, ox, &c. (G in the plate of Finds is the root, and L part of a deer's antler.) A portion of a human skull, identified by an expert as half of the upper jaw, with well preserved teeth, was among the bones. In two places were discovered cavities, sunk two feet deep below the pavement, containing a light grey friable substance of the consistency of burned limestone. In this substance minute fragments of bone were visible. One cavity was 8 feet long by 2½ feet wide. They suggested graves filled by burnt matter—*e.g.*, bodies, lime, woodash, &c.

A section of the digging gives;—1, turf, 9 inches; 2, loose soil, 3 feet 6 inches; 3, black ash, 1 to 2 inches; 4, cobbled pavement, strewn with bones; 5, stiff clay, 3 or 4 inches; 6, sand down to 12 feet (shaft sunk in centre of basin).

The loose soil (6) is almost entirely free from stones, and has likely been deposited by decay of vegetation, dust, &c. There is no sign that it has ever been disturbed. In one corner of the basin, however, was found a large mass of clay, embedding boulder stones of all sizes up to a couple of hundredweight or more. The whole seemed like a glacial deposit never disturbed. It suggested an original nucleus to the higher mound.

The finds have been varied, and represent epochs ranging from Neolithic to recent times. All were found on the pavement:—1, flint arrowhead, bone needle, stone ornament, charm or earring, bored; 2, bits of bronze, bronze ring, copper, a slingstone; 3, iron implements, axe (B in the plate of Finds), knives (C, F), spearheads (E, P), large iron key (A), also whetstone (D) with scorings, as if with an iron point; 4, two silver coins of Henry II.'s first coinage, Charles I.'s silver halfpenny, copper coin. Of the copper coin, Mr. F. Ll. Griffiths, lately assistant keeper of mediæval antiquities in the British Museum, says:—"The copper coin is no doubt a second coin of one of the Cæsars, perhaps Tiberius. The



FINDS AT THE BURH, BURTON-IN-LONSDALE.

TO FACE PROCEEDINGS.

bust is still visible on one side. I suppose it has been used as a button or something, after being hammered flat. I see no reason to suppose it to be a modern halfpenny—*e.g.*, William III."

Fragments of mediæval pottery were found everywhere on the pavement, glazed and unglazed. All pieces showed signs of the wheel.

The basecourt is very distinct, on the back of the ridge of which the mote-hill is the culminating point; and a curious feature of the site is the cobble pavement, which appears everywhere, a little below the turf. Not only does it extend wherever the basecourt has been laid bare, but also in the dry ditch of the mote-hill, and apparently up its sides. (Further particulars with full details will be found in the series of papers which Mr. White is publishing under the title of *Old Ingleborough Pamphlets*—Elliot Stock, London.)

Hence the party drove to Hornby. After luncheon at the Castle Hotel, Mr. Roper spoke in the church on the history of the place, which is given in full in the pamphlet *Hornby Castle, Lancashire*, by Mr. Roper, with supplementary notes by the Rev. W. B. Grenside, M.A. (Lancaster, *Standard* Printing Works, 1903.) Mr. W. G. Collingwood described the pre-Norman fragment known as the "Loaves and Fishes" stone, now well displayed on a revolving base near the door of the church inside; and at Hornby Castle exhibited the Anglian fragment of a cross-head recently taken by Mr. Grenside from the Priory farm. This with other crosses in the neighbourhood was figured and described in *The Reliquary* for January, 1904, by W. G. Collingwood, who said, "Perhaps one day the stone may be taken out, and it is possible that an inscription may be found on the other side, as on the similar stone at Lancaster." This has proved to be the case. The inscription seems to read:—"I(n) no(min)e d(omin)i . . ." in Anglo-Saxon minuscules.

On the way back to Melling a halt was made to inspect Gressingham Castlesteads, a fine specimen of the mote-hill or "burh," with great basecourt and massive rampart, into which the entrance is plain to see.

At Melling, the Rev. W. B. Grenside described the church.

MELLING CHURCH.

In the few remarks I have to make relative to the parish church in which we are assembled, I think it better to draw your attention to the vestiges of former structures than offer my views on the present fabric. Most churches have, during the last half century since the great architectural revival, undergone a torturing process which has taken to itself the name of "Restoration." This process, as members of an Archæological Society, you will have in many

cases noted with regret, especially where the possibility of tracing any vestiges of former history has been for ever extinguished. Happily this has not been the case in the church in which we are assembled.

The parish of Melling is a Lancashire parish of wide extent. Its church is dedicated to St. Wilfrid. It comprised within its boundaries seven townships and the two ancient chapelries of Hornby and Arkholme, with the modern one of Wray. In pre-Reformation days the church with its revenues was appropriated to the Premonstratensian abbey of Croxton, seven miles from Grantham. Fragments of the abbey and its fishponds may still be seen within the modern limits of the park of Belvoir Castle. On the dissolution of the abbeys the benefice of Melling derived no pecuniary advantage, but always remained a poor living. The parson, as before, had a life interest in a few acres of glebe land, and for other maintenance he solaced himself with the prospect of an occasional tithe pig, varied by a similar claim on geese and bees, hens and ducks, as set forth in the "True Terrier" of the parish. The patronage became vested in the Crown, and so continued until the year 1864, when the late Lord Chancellor Westbury brought in a bill for the sale of the advowsons of a large number of livings in his patronage where the income was under £200 a year; the proceeds of the sale to be invested by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the improvement of the income of the benefices. I myself was the last appointment under the seal of the Lord Chancellor. But the vicars do not seem to have been discontented with their lot, nor their lives shortened by care and anxiety. In the chancel rests Vicar Forbes, who was born the year Charles I. was martyred, and died in 1742, in his ninety-fourth year; and two vicars who succeeded him, father and son, both bearing the same name, held the living for 103 years. Lord Chancellor Cranworth appointed me in 1855, and if I live to March next I shall have attained the jubilee of my vicariate.

But to return to the fabric. There is much truth in the words, "sermons in stones," for wherever found, in an ancient building, however fragmentary the condition, they can open to us the page of history. I have carefully sought for remnants of pre-Norman or Anglo-Saxon work; there is not a church in the valley of the Lune where some evidence of a building belonging to those remote days cannot be found. In my own church I have only discovered two. One was built into the renovated east wall of the chancel 140 years ago; it proved to be a portion of the shaft of the pre-Norman churchyard cross, mutilated by the mason on two sides for adaptation to the course he was laying. The second was dug out of the floor of the church tower, several feet below the surface, and is

evidently a portion of a monumental stone: the discovery was made in 1859 when sinking a hole for the weights of the new clock at that time in course of erection.

Dropping down to the Norman period, I shall be able to show you three fragments of ornament built into the external walls. The most perfect Norman stone is fixed for preservation inside the vestry. It is the soffit-stone of a Norman arch, and was found in 1863 in widening the splay of the single-light window at the west end of the north aisle, to receive a very miserable specimen of stained glass. With these another interesting relic was removed from the wall at the same time, and proved to be the lower portion of the churchyard crucifix. The work is rude; the legs are crossed, draped across the loins, and the mark of the spear wound is very distinct. At the same time an incised slab, with cross only, was taken out of the wall, where it was used as a lintel to the window; the date, as far as I am able to judge, about fourteenth century; it will be seen outside the vestry door. Two other incised slabs remain; one has been used for the threshold of the porch, another was recently discovered on removing the plaster from the doorway into the chantry on the south side of the chancel. It bears in addition to the cross a sword. These are the few misplaced vestiges of early days. We come now to the fabric as seen to-day.

A stone tablet in the vestry records that this church was re-roofed and "beautified" in 1763. This was the condition in which I found it on my appointment. The church was roughcast externally and whitewashed with scrupulous care every two or three years. Previous to the above date a drag roof covered both nave and aisles. From the daughter of the old Vicar Tatham I learned that it was thatched. No wonder in this rainy climate the timbers failed! Probably to utilise the soundest of them, the nave walls were raised, meeting-house windows inserted (since removed), the king-post oak roof was ceiled, and an Italian cornice carried round. The chancel was treated similarly, and ornamented with the staves of the bailiff of the manor crossed, saltire-wise, by way of distinction. The east wall of the chancel was taken down and rebuilt; the stones of the Early Decorated window redressed. The re-erection was too much for the masons of the day, and the whole work was crippled. A new window has now taken its place.

The chantry on the south of the chancel is dedicated to St. Catharine; it was formerly the property of the Morleys of Wennington, and the fabric is still repaired by the owners of the estate. I need hardly point out the Hagioscope. Previous to the modern refitting by the late Mr. Saunders, the owner, the space was occupied by an oak pew, with a Jacobean arcading. The original

altar step remained; an aumbry may be seen in the south wall. The Early Decorated window, I regret to say, was removed. The screen is a copy of the original, a portion of which only was standing in 1851. The tracery of the northern division is the only remnant of the former work.

Within the sacrarium the matrix of one brass alone remains. That is was feloniously extracted a century ago and hammered into a toasting-fork for the blacksmith's wife is a story, I lament to think, only too true.

Of the woodwork previous to the great renovation in 1763 a portion of the chancel screen, found on the removal of the vicarage pew, boarded over and covered with green baize, is preserved in the vestry; and also a shortened bench of heavy and rude construction, a survival of the fittings of the nave, on which the "rude forefathers of the hamlet" sat.

The earliest window in the church is at the end of the south aisle; its date about 1260. Of the modern glass, the east window was from a design by Mr. Holiday, executed by Heaton Butler & Bayne. The three memorial windows in the north and south aisles and the west window in the tower are quite recently placed; they are from the works of Messrs. Shrigley & Hunt of Lancaster and London, and possess the merits of the well-known firm.

The tower is of a character similar to several in the vale of Lune, evidently of the same date—about 1450. For some reason it was not set square with the church. It is worthy of our respect as the most time-honoured resident in the village; it witnessed Sir Edward Stanley's riding at the head of his army to Flodden, with his Lancashire bowmen and a strange gathering of extemporised warriors, with a meal-bag across their shoulders, armed with every conceivable weapon, scythe-blades being conspicuous where swords were wanting.

The three bells that rang out a joyous welcome on their return are not here to greet you to-day. In 1753 they were shipped to Bristol, to the foundry of Abel Rudhall, and a peal of six to which they were increased are as sweet and musical as any peal in North Lancashire.

It is sad to think how every year the number of ancient bells is diminished. Recently I mourned over the committal to Messrs. Taylor's crucible of a beautiful and perfect specimen of fifteenth century work, a "Rosa Mundi," in every respect as sound as on the day it was hung in the church tower sixteen miles from here. Like a living thing, its voice had been heard, as its note pealed forth on many hundred occasions of joy and sorrow to successive generations in the parish; and after a service extending over four centuries and

a half it was ignominiously doomed to lose its identity in the furnace of a modern foundry.

I must apologise for this digression, but it is a subject on which I feel very strongly. Three miles from here, in the little village of Claughton, in the bell-gable of the miserable little church rebuilt in 1815, hangs a small bell bearing the date 1296—a discovery I had the gratification of making during the time I was curate in charge of the little parish. I hope no such doom as I have before named awaits this precious relic.

After hearing Mr. Grenside's paper the party examined the church and the mote-hill in the vicarage garden adjoining—a small mound with flat top, fourteen paces across, and halfway down the slope of the hillock a flat terrace, ninety-six paces round and four paces broad on the south side, two paces broad at the north side; no ditch at present, but building and gardening have altered the surface of the ground. Mr. Grenside kindly entertained the large company to tea in the vicarage, and allowed them to see his interesting collection of art and antiquities. A vote of thanks to him was proposed by the President and carried with acclamation, after which the party broke up at Melling Station.

September Meeting.

On Thursday and Friday, September 8th and 9th, excursions were made in the Brampton district, the headquarters being at the Central Hotel, Carlisle. On the Local Committee were his Honour Judge Steavenson, Mr. J. Procter Watson, Mr. H. Penfold, Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., Mr. T. Wilson, and Mr. J. F. Curwen, F.S.A. There were present during the whole or part of the meeting the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness (president), the Revs. Canon Bower and F. L. H. Millard, Messrs. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., and J. Rawlinson Ford (members of Council), T. Wilson (hon. secretary), and W. G. Collingwood (editor); Miss Armitt, Mr. W. W. R. Binning, Mrs. and Miss Carrick, Messrs. Joseph Cartmell, Studholme Cartmell, A. B. Clark, the Rev. J. H. Colligan, the Rev. D. G. and Mrs. Douglas, the Rev. Dr. Douglas (Manchester), Mrs. Dyson, the Rev. J. Ewbank, Major Ferguson, Mr. W. L. Fletcher, the Rev. W. F. Gilbanks, Messrs. Smith Glenneton, Harvey Goodwin, Miss Gough, Mr. M. Hair, Mr. and Mrs. N. S. Hawks, the Rev. A. F. Still Hill, Mr. I. B. Hodgson (Brampton), Mrs. and Miss Hodgson (Newby Grange), Mrs. Holt (Windermere), the Rev. Canon Hudson (Horncastle), Mrs. Irwin and party, Messrs. Hugh Jackson, J. Rooke Johnston, Arthur Lee, Miss Little (Watch Cross), the Rev.

W. Lowthian, Miss K. G. Marston, Messrs. W. I. McIntire, J. H. Martindale, Miss D. Monnington, Mr. F. Nicholson, the Misses Noble, Mrs. Walker Peile, Mrs. J. B. and H. Penfold, Miss Emily Quirk, the Rev. Canon and Mrs. Rawnsley, Mr. and Mrs. T. S. Ritson, Messrs. A. Satterthwaite (Lancaster), T. Taylor Scott, Mr. and Mrs. F. Sessions, his Honour Judge Steavenson and Mrs. Steavenson, the Rev. E. E. Stock, Mr. Alfred Sutton, Mrs. Todd (Harraby), Mr. and Mrs. J. Procter Watson, Alderman T. Wigham, Miss Wilson (Kendal), Mr. J. S. Yeates, and others. This meeting was arranged as a joint excursion with the Society of Antiquities of Newcastle, from which there were present the Hon. and Rev. William Ellis, Mr. and Mrs. Mackey of Newcastle, Messrs. R. Blair, F.S.A. (hon. secretary), John Gibson (warden of Newcastle Castle), W. J. Armstrong of Hexham, Sidney S. Carr of Tynemouth, G. W. Irving of Corbridge, and Mr. Maudlen of Newcastle, and on the second day Mr. and Mrs. Oswald of Newcastle, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Gibson of Hexham, and Mr. J. A. Irving of Corbridge.

Leaving Carlisle on Thursday, September 8th, by the 12-20 train in fine weather, the party drove from Brampton Junction to the Mote, where Mr. W. G. Collingwood read a short paper as follows.

BRAMPTON MOTE.

This mote-hill serves now as the pedestal of a statue; formerly it served as a beacon station, but it was originally intended for neither of these purposes. It is about 150 feet high, artificially shaped out of the higher end of a long ridge (esker ?) by throwing up the earth from a dry ditch. The summit is levelled, as in the case of other motes, and any obvious traces of a base-court have disappeared; though there might well have been such an enclosure on the green ridge to north of the hill, where an adjoining field belongs to the Earl of Carlisle, who also owned the mote-hill until he presented it to the town, while surrounding land belongs to other proprietors. Those who visited the similar site at Burton-in-Lonsdale on July 1st cannot fail to note the analogy.

Old writers thought that the name "mote" was from a Saxon root *môt*, seen in *gemôt*—"meeting," *môthus*—"court-house," &c., and that therefore such mounds were made to be used as "a parley hill or open court for the dispensing of justice," like the Tynwald Hill in the Isle of Man. But they are too big. "Tynwald" means *Thingvöllr*, "parliament-*field*," and the little hillock was merely the Speaker's pulpit. This hill, 150 feet high, would be useless for such a purpose.

The word *motte* is the usual Norman name for castle-hills of this form constructed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as the kind

of fort then in fashion. Because they are found in Normandy and Denmark it has been thought they were introduced by the Normans, and therefore that the attribution to pre-Norman times has been an error. But I understand that they are much more widespread, and to be found in south-east Germany, Hungary, and Bosnia, where the Normans never came. Some of us lately stood on a "semi-broch" in Tiree, which was almost identical with this structure in being an artificial cone, with level summit, and surrounded by a ditch. I think it is saying too much to assign such castle-hills to the Normans exclusively. No doubt, however, they were used hereabouts in early Norman times, before the smaller landowners had taken to building stone peles and castles. The summit was walled or palisaded round; a wooden hall and offices were set up in the enclosure, and there the lord lived, not without comfort and splendour.

We used to call these "burhs." Lately the theory has gained ground that, if Norman sites, they should be called by the Norman name of "castles." In a recent *Archæological Journal* (1903), Mr. St. John Hope has analysed the Anglo-Saxon chronicle to show that *burh* meant a fortified town, not a small stronghold. That may be so in the south of England, but it was not so here. The place we visited on July 1st has always been called "Burton," the *tún* (enclosed homestead, not city) of the *burh*. There never was a populous town at Brough-under-Stainmoor, but the castle is called *Burc* by Jordan Fantosme in his twelfth century Anglo-Norman poem. Burgh-by-Sands was never a city; at various Broughtons are traces of strongholds, but no towns coeval with them. The form "Brough" tells us why we keep this use of the word in our northern parts; it is the Gaelic *broch*, from the Norse *borg*, always used, like the German *Burg*, for a "castle," and our early place-names are largely derived from the Gallgael mixture of Celtic and Scandinavian which the settlers of the Viking Age used. Of course, when the castle grew into a town, the connotation of the name was extended; the Maiden-Castle of Dunedin, Eadwine's-burh, became the city of Edinburgh. Thus again we have Brougham, formerly written "Burgham," no town, but the *ham* (or as in Beetham, &c., the *holme*) of the *burg* or castle. This perhaps gives a clue to the origin of Brampton and the meaning of the name. By all analogy, in the end of the eleventh or early in the twelfth century, the land-holder of this place dwelt on this mote, just as the lord of Gilsland did on the mote at Irthington. This was his *burh;* his fields down there were the *burh-holme* or burh-ham, and the enclosed homestead where his people lived, under the shadow of the mount, was the *Burh-ham-tún.*

Thence the party drove to Brampton Old Church, where the quaintly carved headstones and statesman-heraldry of the old tombs were inspected; and inside the church the vicar, the Rev. T. Armstrong, read a paper by Mr. H. Penfold, which, we understand, is to appear in a separate publication. The paper gave a useful account of the restoration of 1891, which revealed the structure of the ancient church of St. Martin. It was originally a small building, about five yards square, with a round-headed window on the south side, and in the south-west corner a round-headed aumbry. Then it was lengthened eastward, and much later the present porch was added. It has been thought that we have here only the chancel of a larger church, but digging in the churchyard to west of the building has shown no trace of foundations. Mr. Penfold thinks, therefore, that there never was more than we see at present. The vicar suggested that this may have been an early chapel placed here to serve the Irthington tenants south of the river. In some informal discussion which followed it was asked whether this was really the church of Brampton in the time of Osbert "Persona de Brampton," who signed the foundation charter of Lanercost between 1165 and 1169; the site being two miles distant from the mote-hill which is presumably the original Brampton, and the early building resembling a pele rather than a church, or at any rate having no distinct features or history. The question is one which deserves further attention.

After a vote of thanks to the vicar and Mr. Penfold, whose services in organising this excursion were invaluable, the party walked down the "Ha-ha Lonning" and over the footbridge to Irthington Mote, where Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., pointed out the similarity of this structure to that of Brampton, the difference being that at Irthington the ditch is absent, while the circular summit is surrounded by a breastwork. The site is known to have been the "Caput Baroniæ" of Gilsland.

At Irthington Church the Rev. Canon Bower pointed out the interesting features of the building, with its graceful Norman capitals, so-called lepers' window, grave-slabs, and church plate—a hammered silver chalice of 1616 and pewter tankard and paten of 1730. The north-west capital is said to resemble one in York Minster, and to be otherwise unique. In the churchyard the Mulcaster altar-tomb, with its handsome raised lettering, was admired; and the drive was resumed to Castle Carrock.

Here Judge Steavenson led the way up the fell to the nearest examples of the many hollow mounds which Chancellor Ferguson suggested might be pit-dwellings. Rain coming on, his audience was somewhat limited while he gave his reasons for thinking that

these features were not swallow-holes nor old diggings for limestone, and pointed out the many evidences of ancient inhabitation in the neighbourhood, briefly sketching the development of land tenure, on which he is writing for the Society. The old fort below is now going to be partially dug into by the navvies of the Carlisle Waterworks, and their operations, which will be watched with care by the engineers and members of the Society in the neighbourhood, may result in further information about this unexplained site. It is to be hoped that the attention now drawn to the "pit dwellings" may lead to some skilled exploration of them to set at rest a long debated point.

At Gelt Hall the Judge and Mrs. Steavenson entertained the party to tea, and after a vote of thanks proposed by the President, carriages were taken for How Mill Station on the way back to Carlisle.

After dinner a Council meeting was held, at which progress was reported in the matter of the Tracts in preparation, and further arrangements made with a view to editing the Episcopal Registers of Carlisle.

At the general meeting in the evening, the President in the chair, the following new members were elected:—Mr. John William Holgate, London; Mr. James William Scott, Windermere; Mr. S. Haslam Scott, Windermere; Colonel Haworth, Windermere; and Mr. Alfred Sutton, Scotby.

Papers were read by Mr. J. H. Martindale (Art. XXI.), the Editor, on behalf of Dr. Parker (Art. XII.), the Rev. J. H. Colligan (Art. XIII.), Mr. Francis Nicholson (Art. XIV.), and Mr. L. E. Hope (Art. XX.). Want of time prevented the reading of papers by Mr. J. B. Bailey (Art. X.) and the Rev. J. Whiteside (Art. XVI.), which were laid on the table. The Editor exhibited fragments of Roman and mediæval pottery recently found by Mr. Anthony Moorhouse at the Roman station near Kirkby Lonsdale, and a pedigree prepared by Mr. F. H. M. Parker showing some of the descendants of Robert de Castle Carrock, the earlier part from unpublished MSS., and the later part bringing down the line to the present Prime Minister.

Pedigree showing some Descendants of the Castle Carrock Family.

ROBERT DE CASTLE CARROCK = CHRISTIANA, dau. and co-heir of Adam de Crookdake.

MICHAEL DE APPLEBY = CHRISTIANA, one of three coheirs.

WILLIAM RITSON = CHRISTIANA.

WILLIAM STAPLETON of Edenhall = MARIOTA = THOMAS DE ALAYNBY, 1st husband.

WILLIAM STAPLETON = MARY ——

JOHN DE LEVINGTON = MARY.

WILLIAM STAPLETON = MARGARET, dau. of ——

WILLIAM HILTON = JOHANNA.

MARIOTA = THOMAS MUSGRAVE.

WILLIAM HILTON of Hilton, whose representatives are

LORD HYLTON.
SIR MUSGRAVE BRISCO.

ELEANOR = OWEN LORD OGLE

SIR RICHARD of Edenhall. =

RALPH, 3rd lord.

ROBERT, 4th lord.

ROBERT, 5th lord.

CUTHBERT, 7th lord =

SIR CHARLES CAVENDISH of Welbeck. = CATHERINE BARONESS OGLE.

WILLIAM, cr. Duke of Newcastle = FRANCES, dau. and heiress of William Basset.

HENRY, Duke of Newcastle = FRANCES, dau. of William Pierpoint.

MARGARET = JOHN HOLLES, created Duke of Newcastle.

CATHERINE = THOMAS, Earl of Thanet.

HENRIETTA = EDWARD HARLEY, Earl of Oxford, founder of the Harleian Collection.

ANNE = JAMES, Earl of Salisbury.

MARGARET = WILLIAM BENTINCK, Duke of Portland.

JAMES, 6th Earl.

DUKE OF PORTLAND, Prime Minister, party to the great law-suit about estates in Cumberland.

JAMES, 1st Marquess

JAMES, 2nd Marquess = Dau. and heiress of B. Gascoyne.

ROBERT, 3rd Marquess, Prime Minister.

BLANCHE = JAMES MAITLAND BALFOUR.

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, Prime Minister.

On Friday, September 9th, leaving Carlisle by the 9-25 train and taking carriages at Brampton Junction, the party drove to Askerton Castle, where they were received by Mrs. Bell. Major Ferguson read the late Chancellor's account of the place (these *Transactions*, iii., pp. 178-181), and Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., added some interesting details relating to the Carletons of Askerton.

The Carletons of Askerton.

In the volume of the *Privy Council Records*, now in the press, the following entry occurs under date 16th November, 1598:—"A letter to the Lord Scrope. Her Majesty having caused us to hear the complaints exhibited by Lancelot Carleton against Musgrave (probably Thomas Musgrave, captain of Bewcastle), it seemeth the greatest doubt that Carleton doth conceive by reason of the unkindness between them is that Musgrave might use the credit and authority of that place of Land Serjeant to the prejudice of him and his. Howbeit her Majesty maintaining her own election and giving credit to your Lordship's commendation hath confirmed Musgrave in the place, hoping your Lordship will by your good advice to him and care as Warden foresee that he do not abuse his authority to serve for any private revenge and to the hurt of those against whom he hath any displeasure that there may be no just cause or complaint hereafter be given unto the Carletons.

"Touching the Castle of Artisus (Askerton) it doth appear that Lancelot Carleton doth hold the same by a lease from Lord William Howard wherein there are yet three years to come, and therefore Musgrave must find the means to provide some other place near to the Castle for his abode till the lease be expired, unless he can purchase the goodwill of Carleton to yield the same upon some agreement unto him."

The Carletons held the office of Land Serjeant of Gilsland for several generations, as did the Musgraves that of Captain of Bewcastle. On this occasion it would seem that Musgrave had been appointed to the office of Land Serjeant, which Carleton resented, probably thinking that it was his by hereditary right. The quarrel was probably not composed, as in 1602 articles were entered into for a trial by combat between Lancelot Carleton and Thomas Musgrave, Carleton having declared that Musgrave had offered to deliver Her Majesty's castle of Bewcastle to the King of Scots, and that he had made the castle a den of thieves and a harbour and receipt for murderers, felons, and all sorts of misdemeanors; also that his office of Bewcastle is open for the Scots to ride in and through, and small resistance made by him to the contrary. It is not known apparently how the trial ended, or indeed if it ever came off; but those who

may be interested will find the articles of combat printed at length in Scott's notes to the *Lay of the Last Minstrel.* An early edition should be referred to, as in later reprints many of the notes are omitted.

The party looked over the house, noting with interest the great timbers of the upper floor and the inscription on the roof of the eastern tower. Bewcastle was reached before one o'clock, where the rector, the Rev. Edward Walker, received the party; and in the church Mr. W. G. Collingwood read a sketch of the local history. Speaking of the cross, he said:—

Bewcastle Cross.

Is this a genuine monument of the year 671, the first year of King Ecgfrith? Are these runes the oldest dated writing of our English language? Can we take these carvings to be the very earliest efforts of English art? Irish antiquaries have claimed that our old interlacing ornament was taught us by the Irish; Continental critics hold that we got the scroll patterns from Charlemagne's empire—both parties trying to assign a late date to this cross, on the pre-conception that England is a Nazareth out of which no good thing can come. Herr Wilhelm Vietor of Marburg is a philologist, and bases his criticism on the wording and spelling of the runes; but he has looked into the matter from all sides, and his book, published in 1895, on the *Runic Stones of Northumbria,* must carry weight. I translate the conclusion to that book as follows:—

"The question remains—to what period do the runic stones of Northumbria belong? The only monument which can be dated by the external evidence of its inscription is the pillar of Bewcastle. Alcfrithu (Alhfrid), King of Deira, the son of Oswiu of Northumbria and husband of Cyniburug (Cyneburg) of Mercia, friend of Wilfrid, Bishop of York, disappeared out of history in 664 or 665. Stephens and others think, therefore, that this monument must have been erected towards 670 or, at any rate, not much later. The language of the inscription is in accord with this supposition, especially the 'i' of Cyni and the form 'frithu' as second member of a compound name; there is nothing actually occurring in the forms that would contradict the supposition. With regard to the sculpture—a point I mention with all the diffidence of a layman—it is not the Irish interlacing that has aroused doubts, but the foliage of the north, south, and especially the east sides, the latter with animals inserted." [On this I would remark that the word 'Irish' begs the question. My view is that the Irish interlacing was copied from the English, not *vice versâ.*] "Sophus Müller (Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk. og

Hist. 1880, p. 338 seqq.) saw in it a reference to the Carlovingian ornament of the tenth and eleventh centuries; and the patterns in Westwood's *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Miniatures*, which agree best with those of the east side, are from MSS. attributed to the tenth century, the so-called Lambeth Aldhelm and the great Boulogne Psalter." [Here again I must say that these miniatures are not quite fairly compared with the cross. The plate from the Lambeth Aldhelm, referred to, differs from the Bewcastle scroll in having conventional terminations to the stalks, treated quite differently and certainly later in art development. The Boulogne Psalter scroll and animal work has no leaves or fruit; it is a long stage towards decadence from the Bewcastle ornament. Other motives in the Boulogne Psalter, such as the big ribbed leaf ending in a scroll, are absent at Bewcastle. The Boulogne figures are grotesque and disproportioned, compared with the Bewcastle figures; the plait work less symmetrical and more interrupted.] "But there are analogies to it, not only in the Vespasian or St. Augustine's Psalter (eighth-ninth century), the Codex Aureus (eighth century), and especially in the so-called Biblia Gregoriana (eighth century), but also in the ivory carving of the episcopal throne of Maximian in the San Vitale, Ravenna (middle of the sixth century), which connects with Byzantine art in Italy. Benedict (Biscop) and Wilfrid are well known to have travelled forth and back between Northumbria and Rome from 650 onwards. It is a fact that Benedict in 675 or 676 had to bring masons (*cæmentarios*) from France to build his Romanesque stone church, while he obtained the church plate and draperies from Rome (Bede, Vita S. Bened. §5). From Rome, on his fifth journey to Italy in 678, he brought not only a countless quantity of books of all sorts and other things, but also pictures of the Madonna, the twelve Apostles, the Gospel history, and the Book of Revelation (ibid. §5) . . ."

He then discusses Ruthwell inscription and Mr. Albert Cook's views as to its late date, concluding that nothing in the language makes it later than 750, while its obvious resemblance to the Bewcastle cross points to a similar origin, though not perhaps quite the same period. He suggests that it might have been erected by Aldfrid the Learned (685-725) in memory of Ecgfrid. He assigns to the eighth century—the Falstone hogback, Lancaster Cynibalth cross, shafts at Thornhill, Collingham and Monkwearmouth, the Hartlepool slabs, and other Northumberland stones with Anglian runes.

You see, then, that a recent authority, with full knowledge of modern doubts, gives his voice for the early date. To this I should like to add one or two remarks based on the closer study of our pre-

Norman sculptures. If this cross was carved in the tenth century, it was carved at a time when all this country was in the hands of Irish-Norse and Danish settlers. There are places where the earlier Anglian motives of ornament no doubt survived, or were copied from fine monuments of a previous age still admired by the newcomers. But these are always inferior in execution. There is a good example at Pickhill in Yorkshire, where you can see the motive of an earlier cross imitated in one obviously of Viking Age date, rudely executed like the work we find with figure subjects and ornaments which we can certainly assign to the tenth and eleventh centuries. The Halton cross, too, is a palpable imitation of this at Bewcastle, or some such model; but its relief and ornaments make us certain that it is late, perhaps of the middle of the eleventh century. Such survivals and imitations—harking back to earlier styles—are common in the history of art, but they do not affect the general course of artistic development.

I said that the people of these parts in the tenth and eleventh centuries were Irish-Scandinavians—*i.e.*, descendants of Vikings who had settled in Ireland and Scotland, and got much of their culture from Celtic sources. When they emerge into definite history we see this in their names, in close analogy to others of the same stock in Cumberland, Scotland, and Iceland. The name of Bewcastle comes from Bueth, Gaelic Buidh, modern Boyd—*i.e.*, "yellow-haired." One Bueth was a great landowner hereabouts at the end of the eleventh and the opening of the twelfth century. The Lanercost Register mentions two places in Gilsland, Buetholme and Buethby, the latter obviously Bueth's homestead, with a Norse termination. That is where he probably lived as a farmer and chieftain. His son Gilles (Giolla-iosa, "servant of Jesus," in Gaelic) was lord of Gilsland, and seems to have given his name to his estate. The Normans called him Gilbertus f. Boet, and he is otherwise known as Gilles Bueth (*i.e.*, Buethson). His name appears as a witness to an inquisition as to lands of Glasgow Church in 1120-21. His son, as I take it, was Bueth-barn (*i.e.*, "childe," junior), who gave land in Bewcastle to Wetherhal Priory, a grant confirmed by his son Robert about 1177-8. It is he who is first connected with Bewcastle, and he probably built the original fortress which was called by his name. It could not have been built much earlier than his period, or it would not have been called "castle" but "burg." If the cross had been erected about the year 1000 we should expect traces of a church and inhabited site there in the place-names; but, on the contrary, the evidence tends to show that this spot was of no importance during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Now in the Viking Age the Celticised Norse and Danes had their

own style, and the best and richest monuments are distinctly Irish-Scandinavian. The Gosforth cross, with its Edda subjects and fierce dragonesque ornament, is a good example. A patron of the year 1000 in Cumberland would have asked the sculptor to produce something like the Gosforth cross; these vine tendrils and flowing draperies would have been insipid to him; he would have wanted snakes, writhing and biting with the strong action which was characteristic of the period. All the art of this Bewcastle cross speaks of the dignity and high ideal which is reflected in Bede and the history of Anglian Christianity in its brightest age.* It is impossible to believe that the North Cumberland people of the tenth century, as we know them, carved this cross.

Is it, then, Carlovingian, and of the ninth century? There are motives in it which recall Carlovingian ornament, but where did that ornament originate? Is it proved that it arose in the rough Franks and Germans of Charlemagne's empire, for whose education the great emperor sent to England, to Northumbria, for teachers? Alcuin was an Angle, and with Alcuin there went to Charlemagne's court the culture that produced Carlovingian art. I think it is more probable that Northumbria taught these patterns to the Carlovingian artists than that they first introduced them here. Is it Irish? In what Irish work can one find figures drawn, proportioned and draped like these, or floral ornament at all resembling this? Any Irish-taught workman of the ninth century would have produced short thick-set grotesques for his saints, and dragons instead of grape clusters. I cannot at present see that we can refer this cross to any age except that of St. Wilfrid, not to any other artists but Englishmen. The idea that Italian carvers may have designed or wrought the work is untenable. Any Italian would have known how to draw a vine leaf; but the Bewcastle carvers did not, though we see that they tried to represent the vine patterns which they had heard of, and perhaps had seen in sketches, as the proper subject for a Christian tomb. It is our oldest English writing, our oldest English art, and the parent of all the Irish, Scottish, Scandinavian, and Carlovingian styles, which, in my way of thinking, derive from it.

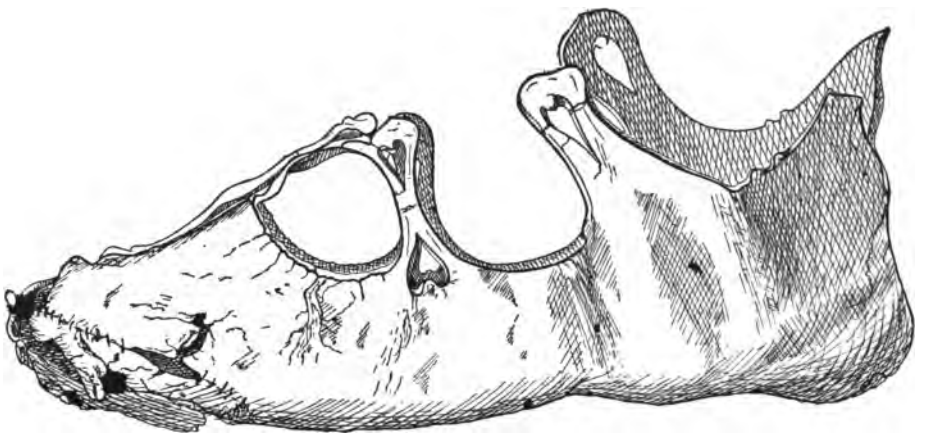
But still, how could the English of the seventh century make so great a work? It seems to me very simple. Great art is produced

* Since writing this, I have had the opportunity of studying the remains of the great cross at Hackness, near Scarborough. The leaf scrolls are similar in character to those at Bewcastle, though not identical in pattern. The monastery of Hackness was destroyed by the Danes in the ninth century, and is believed to have been a ruin until its revival after the Norman conquest. If this is so, the leaf scrolls of the Bewcastle type are certainly Anglian, and earlier than the Danish invasion.—ED.

when there is great mental stimulus, when fresh ideas work strongly in receptive minds. That the English of Cuthbert's and Bede's time were receptive and active needs no proof; that they had strong stimulus from abroad we know; there was a Renaissance only comparable to that of the fifteenth century, or to the sudden burst of energy in modern Japan. Anything was possible to them. To pick up a hint from Italy, to add another from old tradition, to evolve a new style, was just what we should expect. To sink gradually from that burst of nascent power into the slow decline of the minor monuments of Northern England is precisely what we should infer from the analogy of all art, and from the history of the long peace of Northumbria. But the later failings of the Anglo-Saxon age ought not to blind us to the brilliance of its meridian, or to make us assume that because, centuries later, the Northmen and Normans conquered, these newly Christianised English were not in their prime the finest race under the sun, and capable of being in art, as they were in letters, the teachers of the world.

The Rev. Canon Rawnsley said that he had heard from Sir C. Purdon Clarke, director of South Kensington Museum, proposing to take a cast of the Bewcastle cross in gelatine, which would do no harm to the monument; but that in view of the difficulties which had attended a previous attempt to take a plaster cast, there was some hesitation as to whether the Society would raise an objection to the undertaking. Mr. W. G. Collingwood replied that he thought the Society would be glad to see such a work done, if it were carried out with the care and skill which South Kensington could give to it; and Canon Rawnsley kindly undertook to open communications on the subject between Sir C. Purdon Clarke and the Society.

Rain had been coming on, and after leaving Bewcastle the weather was violent during the drive along the exposed road toward Lanercost. At the Priory Church the Rev. T. W. Willis, vicar, gave a short account of the chief features of the place, and the party looked over the ruins and Dacre Hall, before continuing the drive to Naworth Castle. Here they were entertained at tea, to the number of about a hundred, by the kindness of the Earl of Carlisle, to whom a vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A. (chairman of Council), and seconded by the Hon. and Rev. William Ellis (representing the Newcastle Society). In the absence of Lord Carlisle, the vote of thanks was acknowledged by Lady Dorothy Howard, who gave a bright extempore description of the castle and its history. After visiting Lord William Howard's tower and the other interesting features of the place, the party broke up at Naworth Station.



ROMAN SHOE FOUND IN THE ROMAN DITCH AT THE SOUTH CORNER OF CILURNUM, 1903.

(½ SIZE.)

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA.

Roman Shoe from Cilurnum.

We print opposite the reproduction of a drawing kindly sent by Mr. F. Haverfield, F.S.A., representing the Roman shoe described in the report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee for 1903 in these *Transactions*, N.S., iv.

A Gold Coin of Edward III. from Furness.

Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A. Scot., reports that Mr. William Walker found at Croslands Park in the early part of December, 1904, a gold quarter-noble of Edward III. The coin was found about three or four inches below the turf, which apparently had not been ploughed. A similar coin was found near Furness Abbey in 1880. It is hoped that the new find will be added to the museum now being established at Barrow by the Library and Museum Committee of the Corporation.

Stone Implement from Stanwix.

Major Spencer C. Ferguson, in September, 1904, bought (and has since presented to Tullie House) a stone implement found at Stanwix, about two years previously, in making the new road. The implement is a water-worn pebble of igneous ash, 2¾ ins. long, 2⅛ ins. broad, and remarkably oval in plan. In section it is pear-shaped, with a greatest breadth of 2 ins., and pierced with a circular hole, ⅞ inch in diameter, to form a stone hammer or club-head.

Stone Celt from the Gilpin Valley.

Mr. J. A. Barnes of Levens reported in June, 1904, that, not long before, Mr. E. Powley (jun.) had ploughed up a stone celt in a sandy field near the Gilpin, about half a mile or less below Gilpin Bridge. The butt end is broken off, but the cutting edge is perfect, and very sharp. The fragment is 5 ins. long (incomplete length); it is 3⅛ ins. broad near the edge, and 1¾ ins. thick at the thickest part. It is in the possession of Mr. Barnes.

THE OLD FONT AT BURTON-IN-KENDAL.

At our visit on June 30th, 1904, the Rev. F. W. Carpenter showed me an old basin used in the vicarage garden as a flower pot. On removing the earth we found that it had a drain hole, and there seems every reason to believe that it is the old font from the church. It is circular, 1 ft. 9½ ins. external diameter, 1 ft. 2½ ins. internal diameter, 1 ft. 2 ins. in height, and the basin is 6¾ ins. deep. The vicar assured me that being now found it would be placed with other monuments in the church.—ED.

SHAP ABBEY (ANTE, pp. 64-65).

Mr. R. J. Whitwell sends the following addition to the subject of Art. III.

The date of the petition numbered II. can be more closely ascertained, and the further history of the rent granted by Richard de Aquila, as well as of other endowments, may be traced in "Chancery Inquisitions ad quod damnum," File 11, No. 18, from which the following notes are extracted:—

1288. Sep. 20. Westminster.

Writ to the sheriff of Westmorland to inquire before John de Lithegreins and Adam de Crodedeyk' [*sic*] as to 60s. of rent, with the appurtenances in Stirkland', which Richard de Aquila deceased granted to the abbot.

Teste Edmund, earl of Cornwall, the King's kinsman.

Same date.

Like writ [Crodedeyk' *altered to* Crodekeyk'] as to Isabella, late wife of Roger de Clifford' junior, granting to the abbot the advowson of the church of Wardecop,

As to Nicholas de Arturet granting to the abbot a messuage and twenty acres of land with the appurtenances in Renegil,

As to Roland de Patton' granting two messuages and fifteen acres of land with the appurtenances in the same vill,

As to Robert de Winton' granting one messuage and twelve acres of land with the appurtenances in the same vill.

1289. Mar. 9.

Inquisition made before the sheriff of Westmorland in the presence of John de Lithegrayns and Master Adam de Crokedayke, by Richard de Prestun', knight, and Richard de Musgraue, Richard de Warthecopp', Robert de Lancaster, William de Crakanthorpe, John de Broye, Thomas le Long, Benedict Gerneth, William Pinkeney of Renegyle, Gilbert de Quertun, Alan le Boteler, and Robert de Langdale.

The jury's finding was adverse to Isabella's gift,* and in favour of those of Nicholas, Roland, and Robert. As to Richard de Aquila, they find at length the history of the rent, and the vesting of the property charged therewith; and state that a plea by writ of novel disseisin is now pending between the abbot and Margaret de Ros, before the King's justices in the same county.

The return is endorsed:—" Rex non concedit quia ad dampnum suum.

" Coram Cancellarium domini Regis vel locum suum tenentem apud Westmonasterium per vicecomitem Westmerlandie."

The Viking-Age Hoard from Hesket, now in Tullie House Museum.

The sword, with interlaced patterns on the guard, and other weapons and objects of the Viking Age now in Tullie House have long been labelled " Hesket Newmarket." Following this they were so named in Calverley's *Early Sculptured Crosses* (p. 296), though the error was corrected in the *Victoria History of Cumberland* (vol. i., chapter on " Remains of the pre-Norman Period," section on metal work), for they must have come from the tumulus near the Court Thorn at Hesket-in-the-Forest, which was opened in 1822, as there stated.

Beside the evidence to that effect in Chancellor Ferguson's references in the *Archæological Survey of Cumberland* (1893), where he gives Mr. Gomme's *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, ii., 174-175; *Archæologia Æliana*, o.s., ii., 106; and the catalogue of the Archæological Museum in Carlisle (1859), 13, there are two papers at Tullie House endorsed by Chancellor Ferguson *Relate to the Hesket Find, the Viking's Grave*, apparently being a contemporary description of the hoard. They are not signed, but read as follows:—

(a) " The Antiquities in my possession were found in a cairn or barrow in Hesket Lane about 70 yards south of the Court Thorn on the opposite side of the Road in taking away an old hedge to widen the said Road—the Barrow was about 22 feet diameter and there had been a fire of about 12 to 15 feet diameter within it the bottom of the stones were about 3 feet from the surface and many of them

* " Esse possit per casum ad dampnum domini Regis." Isabella had made fine with the King for £20 for permission to make the grant in mortmain. The transfer was not completed in her lifetime, and the King respited the fine until her heir should come of age.—*Memoranda Roll* (K.R.), 20 and 21 Edward I., m. 28 [=*Close Roll*, 21 Edward I., m. 6] (15th June, 1293). The fine was finally released by the King at Rose Castle, 27th September, 1300.—*Close Roll*, 28 Edward I., m. 3.

were so large that they took two and three men each to roll them out. They consisted of such cobbles as the land in the neighbourhood produced viz. whinstone Granit and red freestone. An elderly man of the name of Atkinson who lives the neares(t) neighbour to the place says he can remember a very large heap of stones there which gradually decreased by the farmers taking them away to mend hedges and many of them were taken to the Turnpike Road when it was first formed. From the bend in the road where the barrow was one might suppose that the road had been set out so as not to interfear with it."

(b) "Articles found on Friday 15th Feb. 1822 in a Field situated between high and low Hesket 67 yards south of the Court Thorn on the east side of the road in cutting through the end of a Field, Mrs Stagg's, to widen the Turnpike Road. They were found about three or four feet below the surface beneath a quantity of large cobble stones such as the land in this neighbourhood produces. The stones appeared many of them set in form or very close together and the articles were found nearer one side of the heap than the centre(.) underneath the stones was a quantity of charcoal and burnt bones were amongst the articles(.) the stones appeared to be laid in a round heap(:) it is evident that all the articles of iron had been exposed to considerable heat(:) the ashes would cover at least 9 feet diameter.

(Sketch of bent sword
A—The grip.
B—Guard.
C—Pommel.)

Two edged Sword when found was bended as roughly sketched(.) the handle part marked A is 3 in long and 1½ in broad(:) part B near 5 in long ⅝ in by 1 in(:) C is about the same strength 3 in long(.) both of this has been plated with silver a quantity of which is sticking upon them in small round pieces and has been formed so by the heat(.) the blade at the head is 2⅝ in broad and near the end about 1¾ in(.) to all appearance some has been broken off the point but at present the blade is 2 ft 10 in long

(Sketch.)

A spear every appearance of very good workmanship length of the socket 6 in. diam. of the wide end ¾ in(.) has 7 holes for rivets in it which are of copper a part is broken of(f) the point of the blade which at present is 12 in long

2nd spear which at present is rather bended between the socket and the blade the socket is 5 in long ⅝ diameter copper rivets neat work the blade 6½ in long

Axe very neat work to all appearance and near the shape of the sketch the two points appear to be broken of(f)

(Sketch.)

Bridle Bitts which has some appearance of having been plated the reigns have been atatched to them by plates of iron and rivets part of a buckle &ca.

A sharping stone 7 in long and ¾ in square and a very good one rather resembling the water of Air stone—or Turkish *(This paragraph crossed out.)*

Four pieces of boan very neatly wrought or carved resembling the handles of razors(.) when found a part of a comb of boan was sticking to one of them(.) the comb is very good work rather carved (curved?) 1½ in deep the teeth cut near 1 in deep.

A piece of Iron rather resembling a part of a sickle only the tang appears to be bent square up(:) this probably might belong the hinde part of a saddle

An Iron bason or probably somthing belonging to an helmet 2 in deep 5½ in diameter including the Flanges on the Flanges are holes as if something as been atatched to it (Sketch.) it is crushed rather out of form and much (rusted?)

[The last two paragraphs are crossed out. The "bason" is, of course, the boss of a shield.]

Human bones to all appearance been burned about three part of one spur and half of another

[This line has been crossed out.]

Half of a stone (Sketch of a semicircle.) rather of the shape drawn very regularly rounded and a little hollow upon the top one of D° abt 15 in diameter with several small holes upon the top or flat part of it

A pa(r)t of a mil stone ab^{t} 3 in thick the side it is of a blue cast rather of a light nature some little appearance of pummy stone only harder.

(Sketch.)

Mr Atkinson of Cross gaps the nearest neighbour an elderly man says between 50 and 60 years ago he remembers a very large heap of stones there at that time a number of the present fields were laying in one common field divided by land marks he think(s) when the incloseing the common field toke place a quantity of those stones were taken to assist in making the hedges(:) he also says that he can remember the Turnpike road being firs(t) made or stoned along there and believes stones were taken from the same heap to assist in forming it. The diameter of the place (as it appears to be round) is about 22 feet and the ashes apears to be from 12 to 15 ft diameter below the ston's(.) one farmer after another he says kept taking away the stones till they could get soil enough to plow over what were left."

So far the old paper which, beside much interesting detail, makes it plain that "Hesket Newmarket" on the label was an error, and "Hesket-in-the-Forest" should have been written. But there was a tumulus opened at Gillfoot near Hesket Newmarket in 1794, when, says Whellan (*History of Cumberland*, p. 225), "beneath the barrow, several places where human bones had been burnt and deposited, were discovered, as also numerous pieces of flint and stone beads, and a stone battle-axe." Hence the mistake.—ED.

The British Museum has recently (February, 1905) acquired the Aspatria gold armlet (Bronze age); the famous Dacre fibula, a silver brooch with pin over 20 ins. long, found in 1785; and the still more magnificent fibula also found near Penrith and exhibited at Carlisle in 1859 by Mr. Teather.—ED.

A COCK-FIGHTERS' CUSTOM.

Mr. Francis Nicholson writes, under date July 19th, 1904:—In an article by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A. (vol. xiii., p. 98), there appeared some remarks about cock-fighting in the past in the parish of Hawkshead as follows:—

"At some of the meetings there was in the habit of attending a 'gentleman sort of chap,' with whom, as long as he lost money, the local patrons of the sod were contented not to meddle. When, however, he had a run of luck, it was their habit (to prevent him, I presume, escaping with a balance) to string him up to the beams immured in a large basket, from which position he was permitted to back his fancy until he was in debt, when he was lowered and released to settle accounts." To this there is a footnote:—"This basket trick was evidently universal. It is suggested by a shadow in Hogarth's picture of a cockpit. The editor of *The Works of Mr. Hogarth Moralized* (London, 1768) alludes to it as 'a punishment inflicted on such as bet more money than they have to pay.'"

What I wish to point out is that the above local patrons of the sod were simply playing a trick on the "gentleman sort of chap," and behaving in an unusual way when they strung him up to the beams. When a man was put into a basket and hung up over the cockpit it was because he had been contravening the laws of cock-fighting. This was universal at one period. In Cheny's *Racing Calendar* for 1743, a copy of the rules and orders of cocking is appended, from which I extract article xiii.:—"Item, if any man lay more money than he hath to pay, or cannot satisfy the party with whom he laid, either by his credit or some friend's word; the which if he cannot do, then he is to be put in a basket, to be provided for

that purpose, and to be hanged up in that basket in some convenient place in the cock-pit, that all may know him during the time of play that day; and also, the party so offending never to be admitted to come into the pit, until he hath made satisfaction."

Burton-in-Lonsdale and Arkholme Mote-hills.

Mr. H. M. White sends (February, 1905) some additional notes on the Burton site (see pages 283-285 above) and the similar remains at Arkholme:—Later excavations in the Burton-in-Lonsdale mote-hill at a depth of four feet beneath the foundations of the circular wall showed a deeper pavement extending under and beyond the wall. The pavement would appear to have belonged to an older earthwork which likely enough has formed a pre-existing nucleus to the more recent mote-hill.

Excavations have also been prosecuted upon the mote-hill at Arkholme, which presents identical features with Castle Hill, Burton-in-Lonsdale. At Arkholme, however, traces of the base court were obliterated by the church and the roads, except in a neighbouring field, where the rampart is still clearly discernible. Digging proved the summit of the hill to be paved at the depth of nearly a foot below the surface of the sod. A shaft, sunk nine feet in the centre, disclosed an older pavement covered with black ash, burnt stones, fragments of iron, a few pieces of coarse pottery, and a splinter or two of bone. Evidently an older mound has acted as a core for the present mote-hill.

[Specimens of the pottery found in the Burton mote-hill prove to be sixteenth and seventeenth century, including a very unusual form of strainer of red clay with black glaze. Information as to the *provenance* of these wares will be thankfully received by the Editor.]

The old Font of Arlecdon.

Mr. J. H. Martindale writes (February 1st, 1905):—The ancient font has been restored to Arlecdon Church after a lapse of nearly a century. It was discovered by Mr. Thomas Dixon in a farmyard, being used as a drinking trough for cattle, some years ago, and was then removed to Rheda and placed in the garden. When the baptistry is ready it will be placed in it, and again used for baptisms. The base is about 2 ft. by 2 ft. and 1 ft. thick, with a square plinth, hollow above, and bead mould at top. It has been originally in one stone, but is now broken in two vertically. The bowl is octagonal, about 2 ft. 2 ins. diameter; the sides about 11 ins. It is a single stone, 1 ft. 6 in. deep, and has a bold roll moulding at the neck, with splay above, and finishes square, without a cornice mould.

There is no carving, but on one side is incised the date 1578. The inside basin is circular, large and deep, with (I think) a drain.

It is very possible there has been a shaft or drain between the two stones, which would bring it to about the usual height.

The Kirkby Lonsdale Parish Registers.

Referring to pages 226-227 *ante*, "The Manserghs migrated to Ireland" and "Bryan Mansergh," Mr. Conder desires to add the fact that the original Army Commission is in existence, appointing Brian Mansergh as lieutenant in Cromwell's army in Ireland, 1652; which fixes the date of the migration.

Errata.

P. 183.—This Urswick bronze celt, though not illustrated in Mr. Gaythorpe's account of the find, was mentioned and described by him (these *Transactions*, N.S., iii., p. 410).

P. 277.—Mr. Roper's absence abroad and the consequent delay of a proof of the report of his address at Borwick Hall, have unfortunately left several statements uncorrected. Sir Robert Bindloss was Mayor of Lancaster in 1665-6 and in 1672-3. The Rev. Richard Sherlock ought not to have been represented as remonstrating on behalf of the Dissenters, nor his book as leaning to the Quakers' side. The panelling of the main hall on the ground floor at Borwick has not been removed, but is still there.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE YEAR.

The Registers of the Parish of Askham in the County of Westmoreland from 1566 to 1812, copied by Mary E. Noble, editor of the *Bampton Parish Registers* and author of a *History of Bampton*. (London: Bemrose & Sons, Ltd., 1904; 21s. nett.) Our member, Miss Noble, has done good work in former publications, and those who have read her "Sketch of the Church of Askham, and some account of the early Parish Registers," in our *Transactions*, N.S., iv., will be prepared to find much interesting matter in the present volume. There is a well printed view of the church as frontispiece, a business-like introduction on the history of the parish, 246 pages of registers, and a good index, making a distinct contribution to the history of Westmorland.

SHAPPE IN BYGONE DAYS, by the Rev. Joseph Whiteside, M.A. (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1904; xvi. and 395 pp. with twenty-one illustrations.) The author, member of our Council, has reprinted several of his papers from these *Transactions*, and added much interesting matter, with store of anecdotes elucidating the life and thought of the old-world countryside. There is an article on the geology by Prof. Marr, F.R.S., and an index.

HAWKSHEAD AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD, by H. S. Cowper, F.S.A. (Kendal: Titus Wilson; 74 pp., with map; sixpence.) Mr. Cowper has condensed his unequalled knowledge of the old market town and its parish into a readable booklet. It is not only a capital guide for the visitor, but a trustworthy record for the antiquary and historian.

THE FLEMINGS IN OXFORD: being Documents selected from the Rydal Papers in illustration of the Lives and Ways of Oxford Men, 1650-1700. Edited by John Richard Magrath, D.D., Provost of Queen's College. Vol. i., 1650-1680. (Oxford: Printed for the Oxford Historical Society at the Clarendon Press, 1904.) The documents and Dr. Magrath's copious notes illustrate not only Oxford but our district, especially the life and times of Sir Daniel Fleming and his neighbours.

THE GOSFORTH DISTRICT: ITS ANTIQUITIES AND PLACES OF INTEREST, by C. A. Parker, M.D., F.S.A.Scot., &c. (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1904; 7s. 6d.) A volume of 251 pages with many maps and illustrations, dealing in a popular but adequate manner with south-western Cumberland from Egremont to Bootle. We understand that the edition is already nearly exhausted.

ANDERSON'S CUMBERLAND BALLADS AND SONGS, centenary edition, edited with life of Anderson and notes by the Rev. T. Ellwood, M.A., rector of Torver; also with glossarial concordance by George Crowther. (Ulverston: W. Holmes, Ltd., 1904; xxiv. and 350 pages, with portrait of Robert Anderson, facsimiles of his writing, and seven illustrations.) This volume contains a number of poems by Anderson not previously published.

MEMOIRS OF ANTHONY METCALFE-GIBSON OF RAVENSTONEDALE, by John Butt. (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1903; 118 pages, with portraits and sixteen illustrations.) The biography of a member recently deceased.

A WESTMORLAND VILLAGE: THE STORY OF THE OLD HOMESTEADS AND "STATESMAN" FAMILIES OF TROUTBECK BY WINDERMERE, by S. H. Scott, with illustrations by the author. (Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1904; 3s. 6d. nett.) The author has rummaged the papers of Mr. George Browne, as well as various published works, and produced a readable little volume of 269 pages. We hope the next edition will be provided with an index.

THE CURWEN PEDIGREE, by John F. Curwen, F.S.A. (Kendal: Titus Wilson.) This handsome work by our Secretary, finely printed in folio in black letter on hand-made paper, is a record of an ancient family which was for a long period intimately connected with the local history of Cumberland. The main line is traced down from the year 1092 through a series of charters, grants, and military and parliamentary records. The latter part of the book deals with the principal collateral branches. We understand that the whole of this edition is already taken up.

THE REDMANS OF LEVENS AND HAREWOOD: a History of the Redmans of Levens, Harewood Castle, Thornton-in-Lonsdale, Ireby, Twistleton, Fulford, Ireland, &c., by W. Greenwood, F.S.A. Scot., of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law, &c. (Kendal: Titus Wilson, 1905; demy 8vo, cloth, with thirteen illustrations, 10s. 6d; large paper, 15s. 6d.) Our member, Mr. Greenwood, who is already well known by his valuable article on Levens in these *Transactions*, has spent much time and money in collecting all possible information on a family which, with its many ramifications, has played a great part in the history of the north of England. Much of the matter included is new, and based on the original records, and the illustrations add greatly to the interest of the work. Like *The Curwen Pedigree* and other volumes recently issued by our Society's printer and publisher, this book does infinite credit to Mr. Wilson's taste and enterprise.

OLD BAPTIST MEETING-HOUSES IN FURNESS, by F. N. Richardson (50 copies reprinted from *The Ulverston Advertiser;* W. Holmes, 1904.)

Notes on GOSPATRIC'S WRIT, on CLOBEST, a unique thirteenth-century Cumberland sporting term, and on ACONEUZ, a territorial burden in the Isle of Man, by the Rev. James Wilson. (*Scottish Historical Review*, April, 1904.)

CORNAGE AND DRENGAGE, by Gaillard T. Lapsley. (*American Historical Review*, July, 1904.) An important article, maintaining that cornage was a seignorial due and not a mode of tenure.

GOSPATRIC'S CHARTER (Cumberland before the Conquest), by H. W. C. Davis. (*English Historical Review*, January, 1905.)

In Memoriam.

Mr. JOHN ADDISON, M.Inst.C.E., J.P., one of the original members of the Society, was born at Liverpool, April 12th, 1820, and belonged to a family who had lived many years in Upper Teesdale. He was educated at Darlington, and adopted the profession of a civil engineer at the time of the great rise and development of the railway system, and was engaged as chief assistant by Mr. John Blackmore, engineer of the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway. He was afterwards on the staff of Messrs. Locke & Errington, engineers of the Lancaster and Carlisle (now part of the London and North-Western) Railway, and of the line between Carlisle, Edinburgh, Perth and Forfar on the Caledonian, and was then appointed engineer of the southern division of the Caledonian Railway. He married in 1845 the younger daughter of the late Mr. John Green of Newcastle-on-Tyne, architect to the Duke of Northumberland. In 1857 Mr. Addison went to reside at Maryport on becoming secretary, general manager, and engineer of the Maryport and Carlisle Railway, a position which he held until declining health compelled him to retire from active official life, March 1st, 1884. In 1877 he was appointed a Trustee of the Town and Harbour of Maryport, and placed on the Commission of the Peace for the county of Cumberland. He was in command of the Maryport Artillery Volunteers from 1860 to 1865. He contributed an interesting paper on the old Maryport iron-furnace to the Maryport branch of the Cumberland Scientific Association (part iv. of that Society's *Transactions*), and was president of the branch in 1879-80. He died at his residence, The Castle Hill, Maryport, on March 22nd, 1903, in his 83rd year. (Communicated by Mr. Joseph Cartmell.)

Mr. STEPHEN ALBERT MARSHALL of Skelwith Fold, Ambleside, who died on February 9th, 1904, was born in 1842, in which year his father, Mr. Henry C. Marshall, was Mayor of Leeds. His mother was a daughter of Lord Monteagle, who, as Mr. Spring Rice, was Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1835-39. After leaving Cambridge Mr. Marshall joined his father at the Holbeck Mills, and remained there until the firm was wound up sixteen or seventeen years ago

He then built his house at Ambleside, became a magistrate for Lancashire, and an active member of the Lancashire County Council. He joined our Society in 1894, and was frequently seen at our meetings.

Mr. JOHN DIXON THOMPSON of Barwickstead, Beckermet, born at Haile, February 8th, 1848, died on May 22nd, 1904. He was connected for over forty years with the Whitehaven Joint Stock Bank, and succeeded to the Barwickstead estate in 1877. For ten years he was chairman of the Parish Council of St. John's, Beckermet, and was also a member of the Whitehaven Fishery Board, and an active local Freemason and Conservative. His astronomical observatory and collection of local antiquities will be remembered by those who enjoyed the hospitality of Barwickstead in June, 1902, on which occasion he was elected a member of our Society.

Mr. THOMAS HORROCKS, who died at his house, Eden Brows, near Armathwaite, on May 28th, 1904, had been a member of our Society for twenty years. He was born in 1825, the son of Mr. James Horrocks, of a well-known Lancashire family; became a student of the Inner Temple in 1845, and was called to the Bar in 1849; and though he did not practise, his legal training proved invaluable to him in the capacity of chairman of County Petty Sessions at Carlisle, which position he held for some twenty-five years. It was largely in consideration of his services as chairman of the Lunacy Committee that when the County Council was established he was elected an alderman from outside. For many years he was chairman of the Carlisle Rural Sanitary Authority and of the North Cumberland Conservative Association, and took an active interest in various benevolent institutions.

Mr. JOHN FOTHERGILL of Brownber, Ravenstonedale, who joined the Society in July, 1890, died June 6th, 1904. He was a representative of the ancient Ravenstonedale family of Fothergill of Tarn House, which the Society visited August 29th, 1902 (see vol. iv., N.S., p. 39). He was intimately associated with the public work of the parish, and represented the district at the meetings of the County Council. He was also interested in the Ravenstonedale schools, where he satisfactorily filled the post of chairman of the trustees for over twenty years. The inhabitants of Newbiggin were indebted to him for the beautiful church of St. Aidan's, which he and his wife built and endowed. He was an extensive landowner, a keen sportsman, and an active supporter of any object for the good of the parish. He frequently attended the meetings of this Society, and took great interest in preserving the old houses and buildings on his estate that survived from ancient times.

The Rev. GEORGE BENJAMIN ARMES, vicar of Cleator and Rural Dean of Whitehaven, who died August 25th, 1904, aged 71 years, was educated at the London College of Divinity, and after a curacy at Egremont became vicar of Cleator in 1870. He had been a member of our Society since 1890.

Miss SAUNDERS of Castle Street, Edinburgh, who was elected a member in April, 1904, and was present at our Kirkby Lonsdale meeting, died in August somewhat suddenly after a surgical operation.

The Right Rev. JOHN WAREING BARDSLEY, D.D., Lord Bishop of Carlisle, died at Rose Castle on September 14th, 1904, after a long illness dating from 1898 when, in Egypt, he and his party were poisoned with tainted tinned food. He was born at Keighley, sixty-nine years ago, the son of the Rev. Canon Bardsley, at one time rector of St. Ann's, Manchester; he was educated at Manchester Grammar School and Trinity College, Dublin, and spent his earlier clerical life at Liverpool, becoming Archdeacon of Warrington and Archdeacon of Liverpool. In 1887 he was consecrated Bishop of Sodor and Man, and in 1892 translated to Carlisle. In the same year he became a member of our Society, with the rank of patron, in accordance with rule v.

The Rev. WILLIAM ROBINSON HOPPER will be missed from the meetings and excursions of the Society. Born in 1835, he was at first intended for business, but at the age of twenty-nine went up to St. John's, Cambridge, where he graduated in the Moral Science Tripos. After holding curacies in the north-east of England he settled for his health on the west coast, first as curate of Milnthorpe and then as rector of Kirkbride, where he spent the eight years preceding his death, and succeeded in completing the restoration of his church.

Mr. CHARLES JOHN FERGUSON, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., original member and vice-president of our society, died on December 1st, 1904, at the age of 64 years. He was the younger son of Mr. Joseph Ferguson of Lowther Street, Carlisle, and brother to the late Chancellor Ferguson. He was educated at Shrewsbury School, and articled to the late Mr. J. A. Cory, county architect for Cumberland, whose partner he became after an interval in the office of Sir Gilbert Scott. After the dissolution of the partnership Mr. Ferguson was in practice at 50 English Street, Carlisle, and in 1885 he established offices in London, where for many years he spent most of his time. He was chiefly occupied in building and restoring churches, in which he was highly successful; but he also did fine work in domestic Gothic architecture. His restorations of Naworth

Castle and Muncaster Castle are well known, and his model for the rebuilding of Bamborough Castle was the centre of unusual interest in the architectural room of the Royal Academy at the exhibition of 1896. Mr. Ferguson was an active member of Council of our Society, and contributed to these *Transactions* the following papers: —"Report on the Remains of a Roman Milecastle," i., 22; "St. Mary's Abbey, Holme Cultram," i., 30; "Greystoke Church, Historical," i., 38; "The Tithe Barn, Carlisle," ii., 14; "The Development of Domestic Architecture: Rose Castle and Dalston Hall," ii., 17; "Bolton Church, Cumberland," iii., 1; "Over Denton Church," iii., 17; "Barton Church," iv., 28; "Naworth Castle," iv., 34; "Carlisle Cathedral: Apse in East Wall of Transept," xiv., 12; and with Chancellor Ferguson, "Lanercost Priory," i., 13. When the Archæological Congress met at Shrewsbury he was appointed president of the architectural section, and in Carlisle he will be always remembered for his great share in the establishment and arrangement of the library, museum, and schools at Tullie House.

Much sympathy is felt for our esteemed Secretary, Mr. Titus Wilson, in the loss of his wife, January 30th, 1905. Mrs. WILSON had been for many years a member of our Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Greenwell, Rev. William, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. (Lon. and Scot.), Durham.
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MEMBERS.

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1878 Ainsworth, J. S., M.P., Harecroft, Holmrook, Carnforth.
1889 Alcock-Beck, Major, Esthwaite Lodge, Hawkshead.
1874 Allison, R. A., M.P., Scaleby Hall, Carlisle.
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1903 Austin, H. J., The Knoll, Lancaster.
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1884 Bagot, Josceline, M.P., Levens Hall, Milnthorpe.
1884 Baker, Rev. John, M.A., Burgh-by-Sands, Carlisle.
1885 Banks, Edwin H., Highmoor House, Wigton.

1877 Barlow-Massicks, Thomas, Ehen Hall, Cleator.
1875 Barnes, H., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., *Member of Council*, Portland Square, Carlisle.
1903 Barnes, J. A., Levens, Milnthorpe.
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1885 Barrow-in-Furness Free Library.
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1893 Benson, Mrs., Hyning, Milnthorpe.
1899 Bentinck, Lord Henry Cavendish, Underley Hall, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1900 Bewley, Sir Edmund T., LL.D., 40 Fitzwilliam Place, Dublin.
1894 Binning, W. W. R., Eden Hey, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1902 Birch, Joseph, Kirk Scale, Gosforth.
1889 Birkbeck, Robert, F.S.A., 20 Berkeley Square, London.
1879 Blair, Robert, F.S.A., Harton Lodge, South Shields.
1877 Blanc, Hippolyte J., F.S.A.Scot., 73 George Street, Edinburgh.
1899 Booker, R. P. L., F.S.A., Eton College, Windsor.
1877 Boston Free Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1874 Bower, Rev. Canon, *Member of Council*, The Abbey, Carlisle.
1898 Bowman, A. N., Eden Lodge, Carlisle.
O.M. Braithwaite, Charles Lloyd, Thorny Hills, Kendal.
1877 Braithwaite, Mrs., Hawes Mead, Kendal.
1888 Breeks, Mrs., Helbeck Hall, Brough, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1901 Brocklebank, Thomas, Irton Hall, Holmrook.
1888 Brougham, Lord, Brougham Hall, Penrith.
1902 Brown, Thomas, jun., 1 Lowther Street, Whitehaven.
1904 Brown, William, F.S.A., Whitehouse, Northallerton.
1878 Browne, George, Troutbeck, Windermere.
1903 Brunskill, Mrs., Ormshed, Appleby.
1902 Burnyeat, W. C. Dalzell, Millgrove, Moresby, Whitehaven.
1880 Burrow, Rev. J. J., Ireby, Carlisle.
1895 Burton, Rev. Richard Jowett, M.A., St. Peter Street, Worksop.
1895 Butler, Wilson, B.A., Glebelands, Broughton-in-Furness.

1899 Calverley, Mrs., Hillside, Eskdale, Carnforth.
1898 Campbell, Rev. H. E., M.A., The Rectory, Workington.
1878 Carey, Thomas, 23 Curzon Street, Maryport.
1875 Carlisle, The Earl of, *Vice-President*, 1 Palace Green, Kensington.

1899 Carlisle Public Library (Tullie House).
1890 Carrick, Mrs., Oak Bank, Scotby, Carlisle.
1892 Carruthers, Richard, Eden Grove, Carlisle.
1875 Cartmell, Joseph, C.E., Spring Field, Brigham, Cockermouth.
1875 Cartmell, Rev. J. W., Christ's College, Cambridge.
1875 Cartmell, Studholme, 27 Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1901 Carver, John, Greystoke, Hanger Hill, Ealing, W.
1895 Cavendish, Hon. Victor, M.P., Holker Hall, Carnforth.
1892 Chadwick, S. J., F.S.A., Lyndhurst, Dewsbury.
1899 Chance, Mrs., Morton, Carlisle.
1899 Chance, F. W., Morton, Carlisle.
1874 Chapelhow, Rev. Joseph, D.D., Kirkandrews-on-Eden, Carlisle.
1901 Chorley Free Public Library, Chorley (E. McKnight, Librarian).
1899 Clark, John, Broughton-in-Furness.
1892 Clarke, A. B., Prospect House, Aspatria, Carlisle.
1893 Clarke, Rev. J. J., M.A., Selside Vicarage, Kendal.
1899 Clarke, W. H., M.D., Park Green, Macclesfield.
1903 Clayton, Mrs., Chesters, Humshaugh.
1894 Collingwood, A. H., Town Clerk's Office, Carlisle.
1887 Collingwood, W. G., M.A., *Editor*, Lanehead, Coniston.
1883 Conder, Edward, F.S.A., Terry Bank, Old Town, Kirkby Lonsdale, and Conigree Manor, Newent, Gloucester.
1903 Coulthard, Dr., Aspatria.
1884 Coward, John, Fountain Street, Ulverston.
1886 Cowper, H. S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, High House, Hawkshead, Lancashire.
1888 Cowper, J. C., Keen Ground, Hawkshead.
1885 Creighton, Miss, Warwick Square, Carlisle.
1904 Crerar, Dr. J. W., Maryport.
1886 Crewdson, F. W., Summer How, Kendal.
1886 Crewdson, W. D., *Treasurer*, Helm Lodge, Kendal.
1887 Crewdson, Wilfrid H., Beathwaite, Levens, Kendal.
1897 Cropper, Arthur E., Normanhurst, Lord Street, West, Southport.
1901 Cropper, Charles J., Ellergreen, Kendal.
1896 Cropper, Rev. James, B.A., Broughton-in-Furness.
1874 Crowder, W. I. R., 14 Portland Square, Carlisle.
1904 Cumberland and Westmorland Association (C. Maugham, Hon. Sec., The Rowans, Great Elms Road, Bromley).
1899 Curwen, Eldred Vincent, Withdeane Court, Brighton.
1887 Curwen, John F., F.S.A., *Secretary*, Heversham.
1900 Curwen, A. D., Workington Hall, Workington.

1903 Dawe, Rev. A. P., Aspatria.
1895 Dean, Charles Walter, Beech Bank, Ulverston.
1898 Dickinson, William, 33 Queen Street, Whitehaven.
1902 Dickson, Mrs. A. B., Abbots Reading, Ulverston.
1886 Dixon, T., Rheda, Whitehaven.
1896 Dobinson, William, Bank Street, Carlisle.
1894 Donald, Miss H. M., Stanwix, Carlisle.
1903 Douglas, Rev. D. G., Chestnut Hill, Keswick.
1901 Doyle, Hugh, 4 Smithfield, Egremont, Carnforth.
1900 Duckworth, T., B.A., 128 Petteril Street, Carnforth.
1883 Dykes, Mrs., The Red House, Keswick.
1894 Dymond, Charles William, F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A.Scot., The Castle, Sawrey, S.O., Lancs.
1903 Dyson, Mrs. J., Hood Terrace, Ulverston.

1885 Ecroyd, Edward, Low House, Armathwaite, R.S.O.
1904 Elliot, E. Reginald, Eaglescliffe, R.S.O., Durham.
1904 Ewbank, Rev. J., Bolton Rectory, Mealsgate.

1901 Falcon-Steward, W. C., 72 Scarsdale Villas, Kensington.
1887 Farish, Edward Garthwaite, 57½ Old Broad Street, London.
1887 Farrer, William, *Vice-President*, Thornburgh House, Leyburn.
1904 Farrer, Miss, Bassenthwaite, Keswick.
1895 Fawcett, John W., Broughton House, Broughton-in-Furness.
1875 Fell, John, *Vice-President*, Flan How, Ulverston.
1901 Fell, Rev. James, Burneside, Kendal.
1901 Ferguson, Major Spencer C., 74 Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1901 Fidler, Isaac M., F.C.A., Egremont, Carnforth.
1887 Fielden, Rev. H. A., M.A., The Vicarage, Kirkby Stephen.
1877 Fletcher, Mrs., Ashville, Pargeter Street, Stourbridge.
1887 Fletcher, Miss, Stoneleigh, Workington.
1886 Fletcher, W. L., Stoneleigh, Workington.
1904 Floyer, Rev. J. K., F.S.A., Warton.
1899 Ford, Rev. Harold D., Manor House, Papcastle, Cockermouth
1884 Ford, John Rawlinson, *Member of Council*, Yealand Conyers, Carnforth.
1884 Ford, John Walker, Enfield Old Park, Winchmore Hill, Middlesex.
1901 Fothergill, Arthur, Newlands, Kendal.
1904 Fothergill, Miss, Brownber Cottage, Ravenstonedale.

O.M. Gandy, J. G., *Auditor*, Heaves, Kendal.
1898 Garstang, T. C., Argyle Terrace, Workington.
1889 Gatey, George, Gale Bank, Ambleside.

1895 Gaythorpe, Harper, F.S.A.Scot., Claverton, Prospect Road, Barrow-in-Furness.
1897 Gibson, D., Burnside Cottage, Bowness-on-Windermere.
1877 Gibson, Miss M., Whelprigg, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1885 Gilbanks, Rev. W. F., M.A., Great Orton, Carlisle.
1877 Gillbanks, Mrs., Clifton, Penrith.
1877 Gillings, Mrs., Broughton-in-Furness.
1904 Goodman, Rev. G. J., Brampton.
1900 Goodwin, Harvey, Orton Hall, Tebay.
1904 Gordon, Rev. C. J., Great Salkeld, Penrith.
1893 Gough, Miss, Whitefield, Wigan, Carlisle.
1894 Graham, R. G., Beanlands Park, Carlisle.
1899 Graham, T. H., Edmond Castle, Carlisle.
1900 Grainger, Francis, Southerfield, Abbey Town, Carlisle.
1893 Green, Rev. R. S. G., M.A., Croglin Rectory, Kirkoswald.
1891 Greenop, Joseph, William Street, Workington.
1877 Greenwood, R. H., *Auditor*, Bankfield, Kendal.
1902 Greenwood, W., F.S.A.Scot., Beaumaris, Spring Grove, Isleworth.
1901 Greg, John Ronald, 4 Carpenter Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
1879 Grenside, Rev. W. Bent, M.A., Melling Vicarage, Carnforth.
1901 Groves, W. G., Holehird, Windermere.
1893 Guildhall Library, London (Charles Welsh, Librarian).
1895 Gunson, John, Oak Bank, Ulpha, Broughton-in-Furness.

1893 Hair, M., 13 Abbey Street, Carlisle.
1903 Hallam, William, Beckfoot, Kirkby Stephen.
1878 Hargreaves, J. E., Beezon Lodge, Kendal.
1881 Harrison, James, Newby Bridge House, Ulverston.
1881 Harrison, Mrs., Newby Bridge House, Ulverston.
1904 Harrison, Miss M. E., Belmount, Storrs, Windermere.
1878 Harrison, Rev. James, Barbon Vicarage, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1894 Harrison, Rev. D., M.A., Setmurthy, Cockermouth.
1890 Hartley, Mrs., Holm Garth, Morecambe.
1901 Hartley, Rev. T. P., M.A., Colton Vicarage, Ulverston.
1879 Harvey, Miss, Wordsworth Street, Penrith.
1873 Harvey, Rev. Prebendary, F.S.A., Navenby Rectory, Lincoln.
1893 Haswell, John Francis, M.D., C.M., *Member of Council*, Penrith.
1890 Haverfield, F., M.A., F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A.Scot., *Vice-President*, Christ Church, Oxford.
1886 Hawkesbury, Lord, Kirkham Abbey, York.
1904 Hawks, N. S., Brampton.
1881 Hayton, Joseph, Cockermouth.

1898 Heelis, Rev. A. J., M.A., Brougham Rectory, Penrith.
1903 Heelis, Rev. Thomas, Crosthwaite Vicarage, Kendal.
1879 Helder, A., M.P., Whitehaven.
1892 Hellon, Robert, Seascale, Carnforth.
1884 Henderson, The Very Rev. W. G., D.D., *Vice-President*, The Deanery, Carlisle.
1881 Hetherington, J. Newby, F.R.G.S., 16 Lansdowne Crescent, Kensington, W.
1890 Hewitson, William, Appleby.
1898 Heygate, Mrs. R., Oaklands, Leominster.
1885 Hibbert, Percy J., Plumtree Hall, Milnthorpe.
1889 Higginson, H., Bank Street, Carlisle.
1899 Highet, John, M.D., Brow Top, Workington.
1900 Hill, Rev. A. F. Still, M.A., Edinburgh.
1903 Hill, Henry Staveley, New Oxley, Wolverhampton.
1889 Hinds, James P., 20 Fisher Street, Carlisle.
1889 Hinds, Miss, 20 Fisher Street, Carlisle.
1880 Hine, Wilfrid, Camp Hill, Maryport.
1899 Hobson, William Harrison, Maryport.
1884 Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., D.Litt., F.S.A., Barmoor Castle, Beal, Northumberland.
1883 Hodgson, Isaac B., Brampton.
1903 Hodgson, J. Crawford, F.S.A., Alnwick.
1885 Hodgson, James, Britain Place, Ulverston.
1883 Hodgson, T. H., F.S.A., *Chairman of Council*, Newby Grange, Carlisle.
1895 Hodgson, Mrs., Newby Grange, Carlisle.
1887 Hodgson, Rev. W. G. C., M.A., Distington Rectory, Whitehaven.
1904 Holden, Rev. A. J., The Rectory, Kirklinton.
1898 Holme, Mrs., Mardale, Haweswater, Penrith.
1901 Holmes, W. A., M.D., 50 Hartington Street, Barrow.
1895 Holt, Miss E. G., Sudley, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.
1903 Holt, Mrs., Blackwell, Windermere.
1882 Hothfield, Lord, *Patron*, Appleby Castle.
1898 Hough, Keighley J., 4 Wilfrid Street, Carlisle.
1904 Houlgate, John William, Threadneedle Street, London.
1904 Howarth, Colonel, The Wood, Windermere.
1894 Huddart, A., The Orchards, Eskdale, Carnforth.
1895 Hudleston, Ferdinand, 59 Eaton Rise, Ealing, London.
1888 Hudson, Rev. Canon, Crosby House, Carlisle.
1902 Hudson, Rev. Canon, Thornton Vicarage, Horncastle.
1900 Hulbert, Rev. C. L., M.A., Walney Vicarage, Barrow.
1898 Husband, Rev. C. F., Kirkby Ireleth, Carnforth.

1898 Hutton, Rev. F. R. C., M.A., St. Paul's Rectory, Brunswick Street, Manchester.

1892 Ingham, Rev. J., M.A., Asby Rectory, Appleby.
1881 Iredale, Thomas, Workington.
1884 Irwin, Colonel T. A., Lynehow, Carlisle.

1896 Jackson, Edwin, The Bank, Penrith.
1899 Jackson, Samuel Hart, Heaning Wood, Ulverston.
1877 Jackson, Mrs. W., 3 Conyers Avenue, Birkdale, Southport.
1904 Johnston, J. Rooke, Mulcaster Crescent, Carlisle.

1897 Keene, Rev. Rees, M.A., The Rectory, Gosforth.
1885 Kendal Literary and Scientific Institution.
1898 Kendall, John, L.R.C.P., &c., Oaklands, Coniston.
1889 Kennedy, Myles, Hill Foot, Ulverston.
1894 Kerry, W. H. R., F.C.S., The Sycamores, Windermere.
1897 Kewley, Rev. W., Natland, Kendal.
1901 Kitchin, The Very Rev. G. W., D.D., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, The Deanery, Durham.

1897 Lamonby, W. F., Ballarat, Kitto Road, Hatcham, S.E.
1894 Langhorne, John, Watson Villa, Ravenstone Park, Edinburgh.
1889 Lawson, Lady, Brayton Hall, Carlisle.
1903 Law, Rev. R. H., Heversham, Milnthorpe.
1882 Lazonby, J., 42 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.
1889 Le Fleming, Stanley Hughes, Rydal Hall, Ambleside.
1892 Leach, R. E., M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., Yealand Conyers, Carnforth.
1897 Leconfield, Lord, Petworth, Sussex.
1896 Lediard, H. A., M.D., Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1900 Lee, Arthur, Brampton.
1901 Leeds Library (D. A. Cruse, Librarian).
1895 Lehmann ú Stage, Copenhagen.
1901 Leonard, Rev. J., M.A., South Road, Kirkby Stephen.
1887 Lester, Thomas, Firbank, Penrith.
1901 Lidbetter, Robert M., 21 Castle Street, Carlisle.
1892 Little, James, M.D., Maryport.
1892 Little, William, Chapel Ridding, Windermere.
1903 Little, W., Lowther, Penrith.
1901 Littlewood, J. H., High Croft, Kendal.
1883 Liverpool Free Public Library (P. Cowell, Librarian).
1875 Loftie, Rev. A. G., M.A., Wetheral, Carlisle.
1902 Long, William, Cleabarrow, Windermere.

1883 Lonsdale, Horace B., 18 Portland Square, Carlisle.
1882 Lonsdale, Rev. Canon, M.A., Corbridge.
1875 Lonsdale, The Earl of, Lowther Castle, Penrith.
1889 Lowther, The Right Hon. J. W., M.P., 16 Wilton Crescent, London.
1874 Lowther, Hon. W., *Vice-President*, Lowther Lodge, Kensington Gore, London.
1885 Lowthian, Rev. W., M.A., Troutbeck, Windermere.
1900 Lucas, Miss, Stanegarth, Penrith.

1904 McIntire, W. T., Tullie House, Carlisle.
1876 McInnes, Miles, Rickerby, Carlisle.
1879 Machell, Thomas, Lt.-Colonel, Whitehaven.
1890 Mackay, M., 36 Highbury, West Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1874 Maclaren, R., M.D., Portland Square, Carlisle.
1880 Maddison, Rev. A. R., F.S.A., Vicar's Court, Lincoln.
1892 Magrath, Rev. J. R., D.D., Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.
1894 Marshall, John, Derwent Island, Keswick.
1890 Marshall, Reginald Dykes, *Vice-President*, Castlerigg Manor, Keswick.
1902 Marston, Miss K., College Road, Windermere.
1893 Martindale, J. H., Moor Yeat, Wetheral, Carlisle.
1889 Mason, W. J., Bolton Place, Carlisle.
1888 Mason, Mrs., Redmaine House, Kirkby Stephen.
1894 Mason, J., M.D., Windermere.
1902 Matthews, Dr. T. G., Scotch Street, Whitehaven.
1889 Mawson, John Sanderson, The Larches, Keswick.
1902 Metcalfe-Gibson, Mrs. A., Park House, Ravenstonedale.
1889 Metcalfe, T. K., Oak Bank, Whitehaven.
1890 Metcalfe, Rev. R. W., M.A., Ravenstonedale.
1883 Micklethwaite, J. T., F.S.A., 1 Victoria Street, Manchester.
1897 Millard, Rev. F. L. H., M.A., *Member of Council*, Aspatria, Carlisle.
1878 Miller, Miss Sarah, Undermount, Rydal, Ambleside.
1901 Moffatt, Charles E., M.D., Glave Hill, Dalston.
1889 Monkhouse, John, Hawthorn Villa, Kendal.
1902 Monnington, Rev. Canon, Penrith.
1902 Monnington, Mrs., Penrith.
1900 Moore, R. W., Fernacre, Whitehaven.
1904 Moorhouse, Anthony, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1894 Morpeth, Lord, 4 Devonshire Place, London, W.
1874 Muncaster, Lord, *Patron*, Muncaster Castle, Ravenglass.
1902 Muncaster, Miss A. D., Browside, Branthwaite, Whitehaven.
1903 Musgrave, J. H., Kirkgate Head, Cockermouth.
1902 Myers, C. J., Dunning Well, Millom.

1899 Nanson, Ernest Lonsdale, 4 Springfield Villa, Hensingham, Whitehaven.
1874 Nanson, William, F.S.A., Singapore (c/o W. B. James, Esq., 23 Ely Place, London, E.C.).
1897 New York Public Library, Astor Library Building, New York.
1902 Newman, F. W., Ph.D.
1903 Nicholson, Francis, F.Z.S., 84 Major Street, Manchester.
1893 Nicholson, Mrs. Lothian, 4 Sloane Court, London.
1898 Nicholson, Miss Margaret, Carlton House, Clifton, Penrith.
1889 Noble, Miss, Beckfoot, Bampton, Penrith.
1890 Noble, Miss Elizabeth, Beckfoot, Penrith.

1899 Oldham Free Library.
1903 Oliver, George Dale, Howard Place, Carlisle.

1903 Park, James, C.P.A., 52 Broadway, New York.
1901 Parker, Charles Arundel, M.D., F.S.A.Scot., *Member of Council*, Gosforth.
1899 Parker, Edward J., 18 Aglionby Street, Carlisle.
1898 Parker, F. H. M., M.A., *Member of Council*, Fremington Hall, Penrith, and 5, Abbey Court, Abbey Road, N.W.
1882 Parkin, John S., 11 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London.
1895 Patrickson, George, Scales, Ulverston.
1885 Pearson, A. G. B., Lune Cottage, Kirkby Lonsdale.
O.M. Pearson, F. Fenwick, Storrs Hall, Arkholme, Kirkby Lonsdale
1901 Pearson, H. G., Spennithorne, Barrow-in-Furness.
1900 Pease, Howard, F.S.A., Arcot Hall, Dudley, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1883 Peile, John, Litt.D., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.
1894 Pelham, H. F., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, President of Trinity College, Oxford.
1900 Penfold, Henry, The Nook, Brampton.
1902 Penfold, John B., 1 Lorne Terrace, Brampton.
1896 Penrith Free Library (J. B. Shawyer, Penrith).
1895 Perowne, Edward S. M., 13 Warwick Crescent, Paddington, W.
1896 Petty, S. Lister, Dykelands, Ulverston.
1887 Philadelphia Library Company, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
1895 Phillips, Rev. Canon, The Abbey, Carlisle.
1903 Phillips, Rev. C. T., West Seaton Vicarage, Workington.
1903 Pitman, Charles E., Pinhoe, Exeter.
1895 Podmore, G., M.A., Charney Hall, Grange-over-Sands.
1900 Pollitt, H. B., Thorny Hill, Kendal.
1896 Postlethwaite, George D., Yewhurst, Bickley, Kent.
1875 Prescott, Ven. Archdeacon and Chancellor, *Vice-President*, The Abbey, Carlisle.

1904 Punshon, W. K., Ingleby House, Northallerton.

1899 Quirk, Miss Emily G., Highcote, Workington.

1897 Radcliffe, H. Miles, Summerlands, Kendal.
1902 Ragg, Rev. Frederick W., M.A., Masworth Vicarage, Tring.
1895 Ramsden, F. J., M.A., Abbotswood, Barrow-in-Furness.
1883 Rawnsley, Rev. Canon, Crosthwaite, Keswick.
1903 Rawnsley, Wallingham F., Loughrigg Holme, Ambleside.
1888 Rayner, John A. E., 3 Gambier Terrace, Liverpool.
1901 Rea, J. H., Gatehouse, Eskdale, Carnforth.
1892 Reade, Rev. G. E. P., M.A., Milnthorpe.
1903 Reynolds, Miss, B.A., Shortlands, Kendal.
1899 Rhodes, W. Venables, Tofts House, Cleckheaton.
1901 Richardson, Mrs. C., Heugh Folds, Grasmere.
1893 Richardson, Mrs. James, Balla Wray, Ambleside.
1901 Richmond, Robert, Bannel Head, Kendal.
1902 Rigg, Richard, Windermere.
1884 Riley, Hamlet, Ennim, Penrith.
1895 Ritson, T. S., Ridgemount, Maryport.
1890 Rivington, C. R., F.S.A., Castle Bank, Appleby.
1901 Roberts, Rev. W., The Vicarage, Great Clifton, Workington.
1885 Robinson, John, Elterwater Hall, Ambleside.
1886 Robinson, John, M.Inst.C.E., Vicarage Terrace, Kendal.
1888 Robinson, William, Greenbank, Sedbergh.
1884 Robinson, Mrs., Green Lane, Dalston, Carlisle.
1901 Robinson, C. E., Kirkby Stephen.
1897 Rogers, John, 187 Abbey Road, Barrow-in-Furness.
1885 Roper, W. O., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Beechwood, Yealand Conyers, Carnforth.
1900 Rowley, Mrs. W. E., Glassonby, Kirkoswald, R.S.O.
1903 Rowlandson, James, Kirkby Stephen.
1882 Rumney, Oswald George, Watermillock, Penrith.
1903 Rumney, A. W., Keswick.
1902 Rymer, T. H., Calder Abbey, Carnforth.

1894 Satterthwaite, Alexander, Edenbreck, Lancaster.
1902 Satterthwaite, Joseph, Calder Bridge.
1904 Saunders, Rev. T. B., Greystoke Rectory, Cumberland.
1904 Sawyer, Rev. Harold A. P., St. Bees School, St. Bees.
1892 Scott, Sir Benjamin, Linden House, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1900 Scott, Rev. Alfred, Oak Bank, Wetheral, Carlisle.
1900 Scott, W., Woodview, Chatsworth Square, Carlisle.
1901 Scott, W. Hudson, The Red Gables, Carlisle.

1904 Scott, James William, The Yews, Windermere.
1904 Scott, Samuel Haslam, The Yews, Windermere.
1904 Scott, T. Taylor, F.R.I.B.A., Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1904 Scott, Mrs. Hudson, Carlton Terrace, Penrith.
1893 Sealby, John Inman, Thornthwaite, Keswick.
1904 Sedgwick, Richard Ernest, M.B., Brunswick Street, Carlisle.
1900 Senhouse, H. P., The Fitz, Cockermouth.
1903 Sessions, Frederick, The Brant, Kendal.
1889 Severn, Arthur, R.I., Brantwood, Coniston.
1889 Severn, Mrs., Brantwood, Coniston.
1877 Sewell, Colonel, *Member of Council*, Brandlingill, Cockermouth.
1878 Sewell, Mrs., Brandlingill, Cockermouth.
O.M. Sherwen, Ven. Archdeacon, Dean Rectory, Cockermouth.
1903 Sharp, Rev. Thomas, Barton Vicarage, Penrith.
1897 Simpson, Mrs., Romanway, Penrith.
1902 Simpson, Mrs., The Wray, Grasmere.
1895 Simpson, J., Solicitor, Cockermouth.
1876 Smith, Charles, F.G.S., c/o Sir Henry Gilbert, Harpenden, St. Albans.
1897 Smith, C. Telford, 1 Lyall Street, Belgrave Square.
1897 Smith, John P., Arndene, Barrow-in-Furness.
1903 Smith, J. W., Penrith.
1888 Snape, Rev. R. H., The Vicarage, St. Bees, Carnforth.
1904 Somervell, John, Broom Close, Kendal.
1898 Sparke, Archibald, F.R.S.L., Public Library, Bolton.
1884 Spence, C. J., South Preston Lodge, South Shields.
1903 Spurrier, Rev. W. H., M.A., The Vicarage, Irton.
1897 Stead, E. W., Dalston Hall, Carlisle.
1896 Steavenson, His Honour Judge, *Vice-President*, Gelt Hall, Castle Carrock.
1902 Storey Institute, Lancaster.
1902 Storekeeper's Office, Board of Education, South Kensington.
1875 Strickland, Rev. W. E., M.A., St. Paul's Vicarage, Carlisle.
1899 Strickland, Sir Gerald, K.C.M.G., Sizergh Castle, Kendal.
1904 Sutton, Alfred, Scotby, Carlisle.
1886 Swainson, Joseph, Stonecross, Kendal.
1896 Sykes, Rev. W. S., M.A., Wilcot, Pewsey, Wiltshire.

1902 Thompson, C. Sandford, R.N.E. College, Devonport.
1899 Thompson, Miss Helena, Park End, Workington.
1881 Thompson, Miss, Croft House, Askham, Penrith.
1899 Thompson, Robert, 143 Warwick Road, Carlisle.
1900 Thompson, W. N., *Member of Council*, St. Bees, Cumberland.
1897 Thornley, Rev. Canon, Kirkoswald, R.S.O.

1894 Todd, Mrs. Jonas, Otter Furrows, Harraby, Carlisle.
1897 Topping, George Lomax, Fothergill, Shap.
1890 Towneley, William, Hard Cragg, Grange-over-Sands.
1896 Trench, Rev. Canon, LL.M., The Vicarage, Kendal.
1894 Twentyman, Miss Sarah, Park Square, Wigton.
1878 Tyson, E. T., *Member of Council*, Woodhall, Cockermouth.
1893 Tyson, Towers, Paddock Wray, Eskdale, Carnforth.
1901 Tyson, James, Whitecroft, Gosforth.

1889 Ullock, Miss Mary, Quarry How, Windermere.

1876 Vaughan, Cedric, C.E., Leyfield House, Millom.

1895 Wadham, E., Millwood, Barrow-in-Furness.
1884 Wagner, Henry, F.S.A., 13 Halfmoon Street, Piccadilly.
1894 Walker, Miss Annie E., Oak Lea, Whitehaven.
1901 Walker, John, Hudcar House, Bury, Lancashire.
1900 Walker, Mrs., Brow Top, Wetheral, Carlisle.
1903 Walker, Mrs., St. Paul's Vicarage, Silloth.
1903 Walker, Rev. R., St. Paul's Vicarage, Silloth.
1901 Walker, W. E., Croft End House, Bigrigg, Egremont.
1904 Walker, Arthur, Oak Leas, Whitehaven.
1882 Ware, Mrs., The Abbey, Carlisle.
1896 Watson, D. M. Burnie, Hillside Cottage, Hawick.
1885 Watson, George, Belvidere, Bath Road, Bournemouth.
1884 Watson, John, Eden Mount, Kendal.
1903 Watson, John, Meadow View, Gosforth.
1896 Watson, J. P. (Bombay), Garth Marr, Castle Carrock.
1889 Watson, William Henry, F.G.S., F.C.S., The Crofts, Seascale.
1901 Watson, J. D., Carleton Green, Holmrook.
1900 Watson, Rev. A. N., Vicarage, Long Preston.
1878 Waugh, E. L., The Burroughs, Cockermouth.
1904 Welch, W. G., Hampson, near Lancaster.
1888 Westmorland, Colonel I. P., Yanwath, Penrith.
1882 Weston, J. W., Enyeat, Milnthorpe.
1877 Weston, Mrs., Ashbank, Penrith.
1904 Wheatley, G. P. D., English Street, Carlisle.
1901 Wheelhouse, Rev. G., Wordsworth Street, Penrith.
1895 Whetham, Mrs. C. D., 5 St. Peter's Terrace, Cambridge.
1903 Whitaker, Rev. Charles, Ulpha, Broughton-in-Furness.
1900 White, George, Botchergate, Carlisle.
1904 White, H. M., Hill House, Burton-in-Lonsdale.
1902 Whitehaven Free Public Library.
1891 Whitehead, A. Charles, Appleby.
1884 Whitehead, Sir James, Bart., F.S.A., Wilmington Manor, near Dartford, Kent.

1887 Whiteside, Rev. Joseph, M.A., *Member of Council*, Helsington, Kendal.
1883 Whitwell, Robert Jowitt, B.Litt., 70 Banbury Road, Oxford.
1900 Wigham, Thompson, 21 Howard Place, Carlisle.
1881 Williams, Mrs., Hillfield House, Wellington Road, Nantwich.
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RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last Statement	33	2	11
Subscriptions received, 1903-4	245	14	6
Sales of Back Parts	10	15	3
Bank Interest	1	2	2
	£290	14	10

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Subscription to Archæological Congress (two years) ..	2	0	0
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Expenses of Meeting in Maryport District	3	15	5
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Expenses of Meeting at Kirkby Lonsdale	4	18	5
Postages of Circulars for Kirkby Lonsdale Meeting ..	1	1	0
Cabinet for storing Half-tone Blocks	3	0	0
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Balance to next Account	62	18	2
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8th October, 1904.

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